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9 Weekly Review

India: A pariah's path to glory



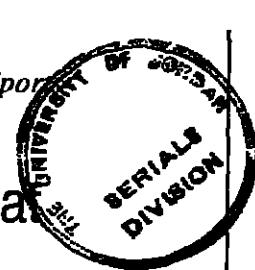
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IDF top brass in major reshuffle

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan, 50, was promoted to deputy chief of General Staff yesterday, as the IDF announced appointments in key posts to begin a reshuffle of the General Staff.

- Maj.-Gen. Moshe Ya'alon was named Dayan's replacement as OC Central Command.
- The Northern Command was given to Maj.-Gen. Gaby Ashkenazy. He replaces Maj.-Gen. Amiram Levine, who will become deputy head of the Mossad.
- A surprise promotion was the appointment of Maj.-Gen. Amos Malka as head of Intelligence.
- His place as OC Ground Forces Command is being taken by veteran Maj.-Gen. Moshe Ivry-Suknik.
- Brig.-Gen. Ya'acov Amidror, military aide to Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, was made commander of military colleges, making him the first religiously observant member of the General Staff in over two decades, besides the chief chaplain.

Full report, Page 3



Swiss president arrives

Swiss President Flavio Cotti (left) and JNF Switzerland president Arthur Plotke yesterday view the Scroll of Fire monumental sculpture by Nathan Rappaport in the Martyrs' Forest near Jerusalem. Story, Page 4.

1st-quarter growth slows to 0.3%

By DAVID HARRIS

The economy grew by 0.3 percent in the first quarter, or 1.2% in annualized terms, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday.

The data point to a slowdown in many areas of the economy and suggest unemployment will continue to rise throughout the year, according to a senior Treasury official.

Earlier this decade the country became used to economic growth of around 6% annually, but the Treasury last week forecast that the gross domestic product (GDP) will rise this year by less than 1.9%, the figure for 1997.

In the first quarter last year the GDP increased by an annual 2.2%. In 1996 the figure was 5.7%.

"In certain sectors there really is a recession now," said Dan Galai,

Pakistan denies nuclear test as West watches nervously

By ANDREW HILL

ISLAMABAD (Reuters) — Pakistan strongly denied yesterday that it had carried out a nuclear test to match arch-rival India, but said it could do so whenever it wished.

Reports of a Pakistani test, which the West wants desperately to avert, caused a nervous stir at a G8 summit in Britain.

US President Bill Clinton warned Cold War-style conflicts could destabilize South Asia.

US Senate Intelligence Committee leaders said Pakistan should be rewarded with a delivery of US-built F-16 fighter jets if it showed restraint.

India, widely condemned for conducting five underground nuclear blasts last week, said it could now design a variety of atomic weapons.

But it kept the world guessing about whether it was ready to join a treaty banning nuclear tests.

While denying it had already tested a weapon, Pakistan said it could do so at a day's notice if it so wished.

The official APP news agency quoted Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif as saying he was "not wor-

ried" by India's nuclear capability, "because Pakistan has the same potential to conduct a nuclear test."

He told party workers of his ruling Muslim League: "We can prove our nuclear worth within 12 to 26 hours," APP said.

Pakistan radio said later that he meant 12-24 hours.

It was the first time Sharif had given any time frame for the preparations required to carry out Pakistan's first nuclear test, and followed US intelligence reports which said one would be staged as early as yesterday to retaliate for India's five.

The US and Japan slapped heavy sanctions on India to punish it for last week's tests, and have warned Pakistan of similar penalties if it detonates the "Islamic bomb."

As an incentive to Islamabad, US Senate Intelligence Committee leaders said it should be allowed to take delivery of US-built F-16 fighters if it refrained from testing.

Pakistan has already paid more than \$500,000 for 28 F-16s that it bought in the 1980s. But their delivery has been blocked for more than 10 years by congressional action aimed at preventing

Pakistan from developing nuclear weapons.

Asked whether he would let Pakistan have the jets as a show of US good faith if they resisted the temptation to test, Senator Richard Shelby, a Republican, told NBC's *Meet the Press* program: "Absolutely, I would."

"I would as well," a Democrat senator, Bob Kerrey, told the same program.

At the G8 summit in Birmingham, England, Clinton warned India and Pakistan they could resurrect Cold War conflicts in South Asia if they engaged in a nuclear arms race.

He painted a nightmare scenario of escalating conflict in the region, triggered by India's tests.

"The answer is not for India to become a nuclear power and for Pakistan to match it stride for stride, and then for China to be brought in to support the Pakistanis and move troops to the Indian border, and then for Russia to come in and recreate in a different context the conflicts of the Cold War," Clinton said.

"It is a nutty way to go. It is not the way to chart the future," he told the BBC.

For 1st time since end of Cold War Russia, Syria near major arms deal

By STEVE RODAN and Jerusalem Post Staff

Russia and Syria are on the verge of signing their first arms deal since the end of the Cold War, according to Israeli security and Russian diplomatic sources.

Sources close to the deal, which involves air-defense systems comparable to the US-made Patriot missile, estimate its value at \$300-400 million.

Moscow ceased selling arms to Syria and other major Cold War-era clients in the days of Soviet chairman Mikhail Gorbachev more than a decade ago, reflecting new geopolitical and economic thinking.

Meanwhile, newly rational economic attitudes made Soviet decision-makers balk at engaging in

hefty deals with politically loyal but financially strapped clients from Vietnam to Cuba.

The impending deal is expected to be raised by Israeli officials in meetings with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Posuvalyuk.

Ex-IRA man: Syria paid millions for Mountbatten's killing, Page 2

He arrives here today following visits to Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan in the framework of a regional tour aimed at promoting the peace process.

Virtually all the obstacles to the deal have already been overcome.

according to Russian and Israeli sources.

In January, Syrian and Russian defense officials established a committee to examine Damascus's security needs.

"We have seen a significant improvement in the atmosphere in this regard," an Israeli defense source said. "I think they mean business this time. We are about to see an influx of Russian arms to Syria."

However, both Israeli and Russian sources say Moscow will not offer Damascus tanks or missiles. Instead, the Russians will try to sell Syria defensive systems, particularly air defenses, to provide a deterrent to Israel's overwhelming air superiority.

See SYRIA, Page 7

PM ends US tour

New US-Israel document to guide peace negotiations

By JAY BUSHINSKY and HILLEL KUTTNER

A new US-Israel document, designed to guide negotiations with the Palestinian Authority, is expected to be finalized today.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was expected to review the document upon his arrival in Washington yesterday, prior to his meeting with US Middle East envoy Dennis Ross.

The final version of the document will also have to be

approved by the Palestinian Authority.

Asked by *The Jerusalem Post* about the "thread" which he said has been pursued "for the past 48 hours," the prime minister said, "discussions are under way about this, but I haven't received reports."

He spoke at a joint news conference in New York with Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, fielding questions that ranged from nuclear threats posed to "Israel and the world by Iran and Iraq" to the concept of Palestinian statehood.

The thread "means we're looking not only at the second redeployment, which the public is focused on, but on the entire process of redeployment," Netanyahu said.

See DOCUMENT, Page 3

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Moshe Sherer, president of World Aguda, 77

Rabbi Moshe Sherer, president of Agudath Israel of America and of the World Aguda Organization, died yesterday in New York after a long illness. He was 77.

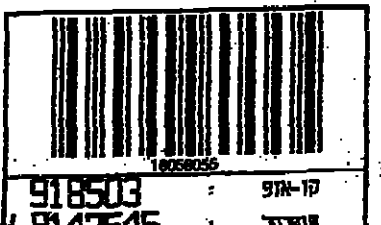
Sherer, who started with Agudath Israel in 1941 as executive director, turned what was at the time a small, wartime rescue operation into the largest grassroots Orthodox organization in the US.

He was one of the first Orthodox activists in the US to take public stands on issues of importance to Orthodox Jews, aiming to clarify that the mainstream liberal Jewish leadership did not necessarily represent the authentic Jewish viewpoint on many issues.

Sherer, a frequent visitor to Israel, was last here in January as the head of Am Echad, a group of Orthodox leaders pushing for the passage of the conversion bill.

Jerusalem Post Staff

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Barak tells Arafat in Oslo:

Restrain riots in the territories

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Opposition leader MK Ehud Barak last night demanded Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat restrain the riots in the territories and exercise his authority to calm things down there. Barak, who met Arafat at the Socialist International conference in Oslo, told him "the way to peace is to rebuild the trust between both sides."

Former prime minister Shimon

Peres, who recently called for the establishment of a Palestinian state, was also scheduled to meet Arafat at the conference.

Barak stated that Labor and most of the Israeli people consider Arafat as the partner to the Oslo and Hebron agreements, which the Rabin and Netanyahu governments have signed.

"The moment of truth has arrived and brave decisions are needed by both sides," Barak said, adding that Israel would not give

in to any pressure or violence.

Before the meeting Barak warned that Arafat is Israel's only partner for the Oslo and Hebron agreements, and that weakening him would lead to the rise of the Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

Barak also demanded Arafat arrest and put on trial terrorists and murderers, and do everything in his power to quash terrorism and violence, which weaken those who seek peace while encouraging the radical elements on both sides.

Asked about the establishment of a Palestinian state, Barak said the issue should be discussed as part of the final settlement talks.

He noted that a one-sided declaration of a Palestinian state, or an early announcement that such a declaration would be forthcoming, is harmful to the negotiations and the chances of concluding them.

The peace process and how to advance it is among the issues to be discussed at the Socialist International, as well as strengthen-

ing democracy, protecting human rights and humanitarian activity.

The participants of the 25 delegations expected to take part in the conference include the prime ministers of France, Portugal, Sweden and Denmark.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair will not be attending, since as current president of the European Union he is hosting US President Bill Clinton for a European-American summit meeting in London.

Violence in Hebron continues

By STEVE RODAN

Palestinians resumed attacks on Israeli soldiers in Hebron yesterday as the Palestinian Authority refused to renew security cooperation with Israel in several cities on the West Bank.

In Hebron, Palestinians hurled firebombs and stones at IDF positions and troops in the cashah marketplace. Eyewitnesses said 15 firebombs were hurled in less than two hours.

The soldiers responded with rubber bullets and tear gas. By early afternoon, Palestinian sources said, nine Arab demonstrators were wounded, one of them seriously. Israeli sources said six Palestinians were wounded.

Military sources said they had hoped to restore free access to the territories in the wake of the sharp decline in violence on Saturday. But PA police officials refused to resume joint security patrols in Bethlehem, Nablus and Ramallah — suspended last week before Thursday's massive march in what turned out to be an unsuccessful effort to avoid friction with Palestinian demonstrators.

As a result, the IDF banned Israelis from entering these cities. Joint patrols were resumed in Jenin, Kalkiya and Tulkarm.

PA officials continued to blame Israel for the casualties of Thursday's violent clashes between the IDF and Palestinians.

"It is clear that there was a murderous crime by the Israeli army against Palestinian demonstrators," PA International Cooperation Minister Nabil Shaath said.

PA officials insisted that nine Palestinians were killed by Israeli troops but could only identify five.

The PA death count, however, was disputed by other Palestinians. Sufian Abu Zeid, a PA official said four Gazans were killed on Thursday and one Fatah activist from the Kalandia refugee camp died from his wounds on Friday.

At a news conference in Gaza, PA officials said IDF troops used so-called dum-dum bullets, which explode on impact. They also accused soldiers of firing at Palestinian ambulances, saying that a nurse was killed while he was treating the wounded.

Israeli army commanders said except for emergency situations their troops employed rubber and plastic bullets in the Gaza Strip and that no live ammunition was used in the West Bank.

Meanwhile, Hamas leaders continued to complain that the PA is preventing Islamic terrorist attacks against Israel and are not making serious efforts for reconciliation.

In an interview last week with the Dubai newspaper *Al Bayan*, Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin said Hamas intends to continue to attack Israeli targets, but, he said, the PA has so far foiled these efforts.



It's not my fault

A motorist explains his conduct yesterday to Traffic Police officers near Beit Dagan, as a new crackdown on dangerous driving began. In the central region police issued 250 citations for moving violations, 13 vehicles were taken off the road, and nine drivers had their licenses suspended on the spot.

(Yael Sorek/Israel Sun)

Campaign against direct election of prime ministers kicks off

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

The Association for Parliamentary Democracy, headed by former defense minister Moshe Arens of the Likud, kicked off a campaign yesterday to stop the direct election of the prime minister.

The campaign, launched under the slogan "Down With Personal Elections," coincides with the bill initiated by MK Uzi Landau of the Likud and MK Yossi Beilin of Labor, which is to be submitted to the Knesset for a preliminary reading on Wednesday.

Association founders include MKs Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Shamir, Landau and Beilin, as well as Abba Eban, Moshe Shaleh, Moshe Nissim, attorney Haim Zadok and Dr. Yossi Olmert. Association members said yesterday a majority of MKs from

across the political spectrum want the law changed.

"The distorted administration which exists today has no parallel anywhere in the world," Arens said at the press conference launching the campaign.

"It brings us close to political anarchy and we've already witnessed its first results after the elections, in the strengthening of all kinds of sectorial parties. One does not have to be a prophet to predict that if we undergo another round, the process will be accelerated."

The speakers said the law had intended to strengthen the cabinet so it could function without being subject to extortion. But in reality the extortion increased and the cabinet's ability to function was reduced. At the same time, the Knesset's ability to supervise the

cabinet's work was diminished.

The new bill proposes a single election of party lists, but the choice of who would form the next government would then fall to the Knesset, not the president.

Every 10 MKs could propose a candidate for prime minister. The candidate who would receive the votes of at least 61 MKs will be elected prime minister.

If no candidate receives such a majority, a second round will be held. If a third round is required, only the two leading candidates will participate and the winner will be declared prime minister.

The bill also proposes "constructive no-confidence," under which there will be no more no-confidence votes unless an alternative government, backed by a Knesset majority, could be presented at the same time.

Rivlin attacks Beilin for open letter to AIPAC

By LIAT COLLINS

Acting Likud whip Ruby Rivlin has criticized the open letter to AIPAC published as a full-page advertisement by Labor MK Yossi

Beilin in *The Washington Times* in which he accused AIPAC of siding with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the right wing.

Rivlin said the Labor Party and Beilin "despaired of creating favorable public opinion in Israel and therefore decided to act against the prime minister among US Jewry." In the letter, Beilin wrote: "Our key strategic asset, alongside the IDF, is our relationship with the US, and it is for this reason that I turn to

you, AIPAC's very raison d'être, as defined by yourselves, is to further deepen and strengthen the US's relationship with Israel, and this cause has been served over the years by a responsible policy of consensus and seeking the common interest. Recently there have been signs of a dangerous deviation from this path exemplified by the senators' letter [to US President Bill Clinton] urging him not to pressure Israel."

With 85 percent of polling stations reporting by early today, Lebed, a former general and national security chief, had defeated incumbent Gov. Valery Zubov in a runoff election by 56 percent to 39 percent.

Ex-IRA man: Syria paid millions for Mountbatten's killing

By DOUGLAS DAVIS and news agencies

LONDON — Syria paid the Irish Republican Army £2 million (about \$3 million) for the 1979 assassination of Lord Mountbatten, an uncle of England's Prince Philip and the last viceroy of India, a top IRA defector revealed yesterday.

Sean O'Callaghan, an IRA killer-turned-informer, is publishing a book about his exploits later this week. The story of the Syrian payment is one of those coming out before the book, which is to be serialized in *The Daily Telegraph* this week.

The *Sunday Telegraph* reported yesterday that O'Callaghan said Syria gave the IRA £2 million in September 1980, a year after Mountbatten's death.

O'Callaghan told BBC television yesterday the attack "was not primarily done at the Syrian government's instigation" but "it was because of a series of contacts that led through Russian military intelligence to the Libyan state, and indeed the PLO were involved in it, as were the Syrian government."

Mountbatten, then aged 79, and three guests, including his 14-year-old grandson and another boy, died when an explosion destroyed a pleasure boat in which they were sailing off the Irish coast. The operation was described as "one of the most callous and best-planned atrocities" carried out by the IRA.

The destruction of Mountbatten's boat was carried out by Tommy McMahon, who is suspected by British intelligence of having received explosives training in Libya. O'Callaghan is expected to elaborate on the Mountbatten murder, as well as IRA links to Syria and Libya, in his autobiography, *The Informer*, which will be published by Transworld Books.

O'Callaghan, who had been sentenced to multiple life terms for two homicides and other acts of terrorism, was once a member of the executive council of the IRA-allied Sinn Féin party.

He has also said he was the commander of the IRA's Southern Command, responsible for arms smuggling. After serving eight years, he was released from prison in 1996.

Lebed's governorship win seen as tryout for presidency

KRASNOYARSK, Russia (AP) — Alexander Lebed was elected governor of a huge Siberian territory yesterday, instantly catapulting himself into the front ranks of prospective Russian presidential candidates.

With 85 percent of polling stations reporting by early today, Lebed, a former general and national security chief, had defeated incumbent Gov. Valery Zubov in a runoff election by 56 percent to 39 percent.

Voter turnout was heavy, with 68 percent of the 2.1 million eligible voters casting their ballots, elec-

tion officials said.

The race in the resource-rich Krasnoyarsk territory, which stretches from close to the Mongolian border to the Arctic Ocean, attracted international attention as a test run for Russia's 2000 presidential campaign.

Krasnoyarsk, Lebed told reporters yesterday, "has become the political center of Russia, and partly of the whole world."

Lebed has made no secret of his presidential ambitions, and has said he would consider running in 2000 if he succeeds in improving the economy in Krasnoyarsk.



The Jewish Agency for Israel

deeply mourns with Michal and her family the passing of

YITZHAK MODA'I ז"ל

a minister and national leader

Avraham Burg
Chairman of the
Executive

Charles Goodman
Chairman of the
Board of Governors

The Clore Foundation

deeply mourns the untimely death of

YITZHAK MODA'I

Husband of our dear friend and colleague

Michal Moda'i

President World Wizo

and sends heartfelt condolences to her and to the family

Vivien Clore Duffield, Chairman

Board of Trustees

Executive Director

To Michal Moda'i and family
and Dr. Moshe Moda'i and family

We offer condolences on the loss of your dear
husband, father and brother

YITZHAK MODA'I

The owners of the Hyatt Regency Jerusalem Hotel



Canadian Hadassah-WIZO deeply mourns with

Michal Moda'i and the entire family

on the sudden and untimely passing of

YITZHAK MODA'I

a great statesman and outstanding leader

who helped shape the history of the State of Israel.

May the love and caring of friends around the world be a source of comfort to the family.

Petrolia Joy Alpert

National President

Lily Frank

National Executive Vice-President



To Michal, our beloved President, Gali, Boaz,
and all the family

We mourn with you the passing of

YITZHAK MODA'I

a social, economic, and political leader

a man of action and vision who contributed tremendously to
the Israeli economy and society
and a friend and supporter of WIZO

The WIZO family in Israel and all over the world.

The unveiling of the Matzevah of our beloved

Dr. MANFRED R. LEHMANN ז"ל

will take place, א"ה on the 1st Yahrzeit

ב"נ אייר, תשנ"ח

Tuesday, May 19, 1998

Har Hamenuhot, Givat Shaul, Jerusalem

We will meet at the main gate at 4.30 p.m.

Wife:

Sara Anne Lehmann

Daughters:

Barbie and Yitzchok Siegel

Brothers:

Karen and David Eisner

Erik and Bert Lehmann

With deep sorrow I announce the death
of my beloved

WALTER ROSENTHAL

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Bet Israel Congregation

and the

Jack and Irene Kwartner Community Center

mourn the loss of our great benefactor

JACK KWARTNER ז"ל

and extends its sincerest condolences to his wife

Irene, and Family

Ervin Birnbaum

Rabbi

Morton Frank,

President

ברוך דין אמת

With deep sorrow we announce the sudden passing of our
beloved husband, father and grandfather

JOSEPH (Joe) GOODMAN ז"ל

The funeral took place yesterday, May 17 (21 Iyar).

Deeply mourned by his wife Celia, daughters Susie, Terry and Judy, sons David and Neil, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law, sister Bertha (Ahrend) and brother Victor, and all the grandchildren, nieces and nephews

Shiva at 2/8 Sderot Eshkol, Jerusalem

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

extends deepest condolences

to its dear friends

Edgar and Alex de Picciotto

and the entire family

on the death of their mother

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1520 מנחם

Mofaz reshuffles General Staff

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

A monumental reshuffle of the IDF General Staff began last night, as the army announced appointments to four key posts.

OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan, 50, was promoted to deputy chief of the General Staff. He is more experienced in many areas than Chief of General Staff-designate Maj.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz and is expected to enable Mofaz to consolidate his policies before he takes over command of the IDF in July.

OC Intelligence Maj.-Gen. Moshe Ya'alon, 48, was named Dayan's replacement as OC Central Command. This surprised some, since it was widely assumed that Ya'alon would head the Northern Command. But Ya'alon, a veteran paratrooper and commando, gained intimate knowledge of Judea and Samaria while commanding IDF forces there in 1992.

Many defense experts believe that this front, and not the Northern Command, is now the most sensitive and in need of the army's best commanders.

The Northern Command was given to Maj.-Gen. Gaby Ashkenazy, 44. He replaces Maj.-Gen. Amiram Levine, who has been named deputy head of the Mossad. A former commander of the Golani Brigade as well as head of IDF forces in Lebanon, most of Ashkenazy's career has been spent in the North.

A surprise promotion was the appointment of Maj.-Gen. Amos Malka as OC Intelligence. Malka, 45, is considered a brilliant tactician and has been responsible for reorganizing the Ground Forces Command. But his 26-year military career has been exclusively in the Armored Corps; he has never held an intelligence command.

His place as OC Ground Forces



Maj.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz: Some surprising choices (IDF Spokesman)



Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan: Valuable experience (Israel Sun)

Command is being taken by veteran Maj.-Gen. Moshe Ivry-Suknik, 49, who until last night's announcement was studying English and reportedly about to retire.

Also promoted was Brig.-Gen. Ya'acov Amidror, the controversial military aide to Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, who was named commander of military colleges. He will be the first observant member of the General Staff, aside from the chief chaplain, in over two decades.

Amidror, 50, a former director of intelligence assessment, had hoped to be named OC Intelligence. But his candidacy was hotly contested by politicians, who objected to comments he made in a newspaper interview complaining that secular Israelis were nothing but "Hebrew-speaking gentiles" without culture.

The reshuffle was agreed on relatively quickly in consultations among outgoing Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, Mofaz, and

staff had promoted someone. In last night's announcement, however, the statement began with the minister of defense approving recommendations from the chief of General Staff and his designated replacement.

Reservists protest Malka's appointment

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

A group of 30 reserve intelligence officers are protesting the choice of Maj.-Gen. Amos Malka as the next head OC Intelligence Branch.

"It's like making an Armored Corps man head of the Air Force," said reserve lieutenant Aviad Visoly.

The officers plan to send a letter to this effect today to Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak.

These officers believe that Brig.-Gen. Ya'acov Amidror, currently Mordechai's military aide, but a veteran intelligence officer, was the best candidate for the job. Amidror has been named commander of the military colleges.

"The fact that he was disqualified by politicians, the Left and the media is a bad sign. It shows that there is an encroaching politicization of the army and we are against that happening," Visoly said.

"We call on the defense minister and the chief of General Staff to put national security considerations of the State of Israel as the only criteria for choosing the head of military intelligence and choose Brig.-Gen. Amidror, the candidate with the most experience in intelligence," the officers wrote in the letter, a copy of which was obtained by *The Jerusalem Post*.



Moda'i laid to rest

Michal Moda'i (center) embraces her son, Boaz, and daughter, Gali, at the Nahalat Yitzhak Cemetery yesterday, following the burial of her husband, former finance minister Yitzhak Moda'i. Some 1,000 people attended the funeral, including President Ezer Weizman, Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon, Chief Rabbi Yisrael Lau, and Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel.

(Assaf Shilo/Israel Sun)

PALESTINIAN PRESS REVIEW

By MICHAEL SLEA

The *Nakba* commemoration was practically the only issue discussed by the Palestinian press last week.

All the newspapers published personal stories of people whose homes and villages were demolished during the 1948 war, beside pictures of elderly Palestinians displaying their old birth and identity certificates bearing the word Palestine.

"Is not the Palestinian people one of the world's peoples?" asks Mohammed Khalek in *Al-Quds*. "Don't they have the right to display their feelings, be it a tragedy or a celebration?"

Relating to the Israeli government criticism of the Israeli Arabs who commemorated the event, Khalek refers to Benny Morris's book on the 1948 war.

"We have the right to celebrate whenever we want to... because both happiness... and sadness are born with Man," Khalek writes.

Alluding to a famous novel by the late Egyptian author, Tawfik Hakim, Hafez Barghuthi in *Al-Hayat al-Jadida* refers to the *Nakba* marches as "the return of the awareness."

Barghuthi is sorry, that while the Palestinians have adapted their attitudes to the current circumstances, "our opponent has not reconsidered his agenda, and still shows a desire to continue the occupation."

Ibrahim Abu Lughad and Hisham Sharabi are both natives of Jaffa, famous professors of political science and influential Palestinian ideologues, who are also US citizens. In separate articles in *Al-Quds*, they analyze the meaning of commemorating the *Nakba*.

Even Israeli historians admit that the Palestinians had been uprooted and deported from their homes, summarizes Abu Lughad his analysis.

"The Zionist propaganda could not hide the crime that the Zionist

movement had committed," according to Abu Lughad. "With the celebrations, the Palestinian people proved, that they reject the continuation of the *Nakba* and any process which intends to prolong it."

Sharabi's analysis interweaves personal reminiscences. On his first home trip to Jaffa, in 1993, Sharabi stood on the beach, listening to the Russian-speaking inhabitants of his hometown. They were immigrants, he writes, "and I was a visitor by a special Israeli visa."

In the first spring after the 1948 depopulation, the notables of Jaffa asked the US to convince the Israeli authorities to permit them return to their homes, writes Sharabi. They were sure that they would be back on time to water the orange orchards.

"My grandfather took his house keys with him."

50 years later, he writes, most of the Palestinian grandfathers are dead. "Their grandchildren wait for their day of return... If the Jews had to wait 2,000 years, the Palestinians can wait another five or ten years, but they shall, no doubt, return." Combining memory with politics, Samih Shabib affirms in *Al-Ayyam* that the Israelis failed in their efforts to deal with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by ignoring the Palestinians' existence.

"They also failed in the efforts to trick the Palestinians into an uneven peace treaty. It is a proof that one cannot pursue a new future without a guarantee for the vital interests of both parties."

Relating to the vocabulary of tragedy and catastrophe, Hassan Batal writes in *Al-Ayyam*, that "without making any comparison between the *Nakba* and the Holocaust, in both cases million of people were victims."

DOCUMENT

Continued from Page 1

Cabinet secretary Dan Naveh and Netanyahu's private legal adviser, Yitzhak Molcho, negotiated these and other issues with various American counterparts.

The two worked under the deadline posed by Netanyahu's scheduled meeting with Ross, which is to precede a keynote address to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee prior to his flight home. Naveh and Molcho are to stay in Washington an extra day to continue work on the document.

Referring to the main issues dividing Israel and the PA, Netanyahu cited his demand that Palestinians accused of committing acts of murder on Israeli soil be handed over for trial.

He reiterated his unequivocal opposition to Palestinian statehood and self-determination, on the grounds that such an entity could conclude treaties with hostile countries like Iran and Iraq, and thus endanger Israel's security.

"There are 34 killers roaming around free in the Palestinian areas who should be transferred to us," he said. To drive his point home, Netanyahu pointed out that "12 Americans" were among the suspects' victims.

Giuliani, keyed earlier comments, made at a 50th anniversary of Israel reception at his official residence, Gracie Mansion, to an

enthusiastic audience of 1,100 pro-Israel invitees.

"Right now pressure is being put on one side and not on the other side," he said, alluding to the Clinton administration's stance. "I believe real peace will come when we [the US] begin to apply equal pressure in the negotiations."

The mayor presented Netanyahu with a key to the city and gave him two child-size Yankee baseball team jackets as gifts for the Netanyahu's two children, as well as two NYPD T-shirts.

Netanyahu told ABC's *This Week* it is "too early" to tell whether the latest ideas he is discussing with the US will break the negotiations stalemate.

In a subsequent interview on CNN's *Late Edition*, Netanyahu said he is "willing to be flexible and even make compromises" so long as Israeli security is not imperiled.

Netanyahu said India's recent nuclear tests make it "incumbent upon us, as world leaders, to do everything we can to be very, very careful with this deadly technology."

Marilyn Henry adds from New York:

Netanyahu made a 30-minute stop at New York's annual Salute to Israel parade, where he repeated the theme of his weekend visit to Manhattan. His 12-minute speech was broadcast over 20 blocks along Central Park to an estimated 250,000 people on the parade route.

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Swiss President Flavio Cotti: Holocaust probe hinges on atmosphere

By LIAT COLLINS and Itim

Switzerland is committed to investigating the "tragic mistakes" committed during World War II but this requires "that there will be a suitable atmosphere to allow such an examination to take place," Swiss President Flavio Cotti said yesterday, as he began a two-day official visit to Israel.

Cotti promised his country would continue to investigate what happened to the bank accounts of Jews who perished in the Holocaust.

But he said resolving the outstanding issues involves recognizing steps already taken by Switzerland in recent months and avoiding accusatory statements against the Swiss.

The return of Jewish assets was raised during a meeting at the Knesset with Speaker Dan Tichon and MK Avraham Hirschson (Likud), who heads the Knesset subcommittee on restitution.

Cotti also visited Yad Vashem.

Cotti arrived in Israel from Jordan and was met at the Allenby Bridge by Education Minister Yitzhak Levy.

They agreed on an exchange program that would involve educators, writers, researchers and thinkers specializing in the history of World War II, who would teach about the Holocaust and review archival

material from this period.

Cotti also met last night with National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon.

Greer Fay Cashman adds:

In an address last night to the Israel Foreign Relations Council, Cotti urged the parties involved in the peace process to make the compromises necessary to restart it.

Cotti stressed the need for both sides to uphold its agreements.

"There is no justification whatsoever for any sort of terrorism," said Cotti, who also expressed Switzerland's conviction that harmonious economic development in the region as a whole and in the Palestinian territories in particular, is of paramount importance.

While making no attempt to downplay Switzerland's negative activities during World War II, Cotti noted that during that period Switzerland absorbed 300,000 refugees, of whom 30,000 were Jewish.

He also listed what Switzerland is doing in terms of examining its history and making payments to Holocaust victims and their heirs.

He added that many Swiss citizens and officials had become increasingly frustrated at the lack of recognition for the measures Switzerland has taken and believe "that no matter what Switzerland does, it will never be enough."



Swiss President Flavio Cotti lays a wreath at Yad Vashem yesterday, as Education Minister Yitzhak Levy (back, left) and Yad Vashem International Council chairman Josef Burg look on.

Druse village displays its past

By DAVID RUDGE

A Druse village in the Galilee and the Antiquities Authority have joined forces in a special project aimed at preserving the past in its local setting.

Under the scheme, artifacts uncovered from an archeological dig at Kisra village, north of Karmiel, are being put on permanent display in the village itself.

The exhibition, which includes jewelry, coins, oil lamps, glass and pottery utensils dating back to the Byzantine period, was opened in the village yesterday.

A number of MKs, including Knesset Education Committee chairman Emanuel Zissman and Knesset Interior Committee head Salah Tarif, as well as Kisra Local Council head Suleiman Abdullah and other local dignitaries, attended the ceremony, along with Antiquities Authority staff headed by director-general Amir Dron.

Afterwards they visited the nearby site of new excavations which are slowly uncovering the remains of a Byzantine community dating back to between the 5th and 6th centuries CE.

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07/10/13/24

Weizman at condolence call:

Arab stabbing victim's family will get terror-victim compensation

By HAIM SHAPIRO and Nim

President Ezer Weizman yesterday told the family of the Arab worker who was stabbed to death in Jerusalem's Mea She'arim quarter last week that he would see to it that the National Insurance Institute pays them the compensation due a terror victim.

The president made the promise during a condolence call to the family of Khairi Alkam yesterday at their Jerusalem home, after Alkam's widow, Dalal, had asked Weizman to use his influence to enable her father to return from Kuwait and help support the family.

"I am of the opinion that the murder of a Jew and the murder of an Arab for nationalistic motives is a serious matter," said Weizman. "Would that we could find the way for all of us to live without pain and without mourning. I believe that this is possible and essential, and it will come to pass."

Weizman said that he is convinced that both peoples will understand the necessity of preventing further deterioration.

"The pain of a Jewish widow and orphans is the same as the pain of an Arab widow and orphans," said Weizman.

In the afternoon following the condolence call, Beit Hanassi

Director-General Arye Shumer formally requested NII Director-General Yossi Tamir to recognize the Alkam family as victims of terrorism so they would qualify for government aid.

The murder has aroused considerable furor in Mea She'arim. Over the weekend posters went up in the neighborhood in which leading rabbis urge the public to come forward with information about the killer.

Police say the murderer is a serial stabber who has attacked five other Arab men over a period of several months, apparently motivated by revenge for attacks on Jews.

President's inauguration tonight

The inauguration of President Ezer Weizman's second term will be broadcast live on Channel 1 starting at 7 p.m., when he arrives at the Knesset escorted by police on horseback and motorcycles and is received by the Knesset Guard. Flag-waving schoolchildren from the nearby towns of Beit Shemesh, Mevaseret Zion, and Abu Ghosh will line the entrance.

The ceremony includes trumpet and shofar blowing, speeches by Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon and the president, and the national anthem sung by MKs and guests.

This will be followed by a reception during which there will be musical entertainment by the IDF Orchestra and the Education Corps ensemble and a speech by the prime minister. Some 1,200 guests have been invited.

Liat Collins

Hirschtig gets life for killing 'snake catcher'

Harel Hirschtig, 24, of Kibbutz Deganya Bet, was sentenced yesterday by the Haifa District Court to life imprisonment for the 1996 murder of Ya'acov Sela, 34, known as "The Snake Catcher."

Judges Micha Lindenstraus, Bilha Galor, and Shmuel Berliner noted in passing sentence that Hirschtig's testimony had been ridden with lies. "The accused tried by means of misrepresentation, deceit, and outright lying to distance himself from the murder, after he failed to carry out the perfect murder he had intended," the verdict read.

Rina Hirschtig, 43, Harel's mother, was also convicted for her part in the murder of Sela, her former boyfriend. She is to be sentenced next month for obstruction of justice, intimidating witnesses, and extortion.

A third defendant, fellow kibbutz member Dan Koenig, 24, was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for his part in the crime. A fourth defendant, a minor, 17, was given an 18-month suspended sentence and ordered to perform 150 hours of community service for failing to act to prevent the murder and complicity after the fact.

Harel Hirschtig met nationalist Sela in 1988 because of his interest in reptiles. Their acquaintanceship led to the romantic involvement of his mother, Rina, with Sela. The judges determined that the motive behind the murder was Harel Hirschtig's desire to cover up his theft of Sela's checkbook and subsequent theft of NIS 49,000.

When the theft was discovered, Hirschtig promised Sela to pay him back with interest by April 1996 - a pledge the judges determined to be a ploy to delay Sela from reporting the theft while Hirschtig planned his murder.

(Nim)



Goren remembered at Western Wall

Zvia Goren reads a plaque overlooking the Western Wall honoring her late husband, former chief rabbi Shlomo Goren, as her daughter Drorit Tamari and great-grandchildren Moriah and Osnat Josepee look on.

(Brian Hendler)

Gesher-Meretz: New Histadrut more corrupt than old

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

The leaders of Gesher and Meretz yesterday launched their Histadrut election campaign with an attack on what they called the government's blindness to social causes and the Histadrut leadership's corruption.

The head of the Gesher-Meretz list, MK Maxim Levy, accused Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and his bureau chief, Moshe Leon, of intimidating workers to support Histadrut chairman Amir Peretz.

He charged Peretz and his people with being even more corrupt than the old Histadrut leadership, accusing them of using Histadrut facilities

for campaign purposes, and threatening workers, union members, and local authority heads.

Levy charged the government with obtuseness and indifference to the workers' plight, saying "tens of thousands of workers in the Israel Aircraft Industries and other industries are frightened of losing their jobs because of the government's privatization policy. Every day more people are thrown out of work. And where is the strong Histadrut which should protect them and fight for their rights?"

"It cannot act or demonstrate, because it's in the government's pocket. It's paralyzed, because it

joined the coalition with Shas and the Likud."

Gesher leader MK David Levy accused Peretz of joining the "unemployment coalition" against which he is supposed to fight. He scoffed at Peretz's list combining the Likud, Shas, and Yisrael Ba'Aliya, calling it "a deception and rampant absurdity. What stand will the workers be voting for? There is no stand, no line, no ideology to such a coalition, whose sole raison d'être is to divide the cake among the partners before the elections. [We've reached] the greatest unemployment in the state's history - 150,000 unemployed - and nobody cares."

Meretz leader Yossi Sarid accused Netanyahu of trying to sabotage the coalition between Gesher-Meretz and Yisrael Ba'Aliya, in which there was a majority for joining Gesher-Meretz.

Meretz MK Anat Maor, the list's candidate for Naamat chairman, accused Netanyahu and Peretz of conducting a joint policy to increase unemployment, which she said mainly harms women.

Peretz's spokesman called Gesher-Meretz "a strange grouping of politicians jumping on each other's bandwagon at the expense of the workers, in order to obtain positions, political benefits, and funds from workers' fees."

NEWS

in brief

Striking workers take to the road

Some 100 employees of the Beit Jann Local Council, in their second week of a strike over not receiving their April salaries, demonstrated yesterday at the Rama junction on the Karmiel-Safed road. Although the workers burned several tires, traffic was not interrupted. Council chairman Yusuf Kabanal blamed the Interior and Finance ministries for not transferring funds for the salaries.

In Rehovot yesterday, garbage began to pile up as the municipal strike there went into its second week, and workers of the Gedera Local Council began a strike yesterday in protest at not receiving their April wages. *Itim*

Court asks gov't to explain laxity on Arutz 7

The High Court of Justice yesterday ordered the government to explain within 45 days why it is not enforcing the law against the Arutz 7 radio station. The order was issued in response to a petition by Labor MK Eitan Cabel.

Two weeks ago, the High Court, in response to a petition by the station itself, issued an interim injunction forbidding the government from doing anything to interfere with Arutz 7 broadcasts until the station's petition was heard.

Therefore, said the government, in response to Cabel's petition, there could not be a police investigation into the station at this time.

But Justice Yitzhak Zamir issued yesterday's order anyway, saying that while the earlier injunction prevented the government from interfering with the broadcasts, it said nothing about forbidding a police investigation into whether the station was breaking the law. *Itim*

European meteorological conference here

Climatic changes, atmospheric pollution and natural disasters which have recently plagued many countries in Europe will be among topics slated to be discussed during a five-day conference of weather experts being held for the first time here.

The conference of the World Meteorological Organization's European region is beginning today at the Sharon Hotel in Herzliya.

Zvi Alpers, director of the Israel Meteorological Service, said more than 150 experts are expected to attend. *David Rudg*

Large quantity of explosives found in cemetery

A man who stopped into the Ness Harim cemetery yesterday found 11 big bags there containing 220 kg. of explosives. The explosives were of the type used for quarrying.

Beit Shemesh police were trying last night to locate the owner and to ascertain why the explosives had been left in the cemetery. Several months ago, two Jewish building contractors were arrested on suspicion they were involved in selling a similar type of explosive to Palestinians. *Itim*

Drug firms warn of layoffs if competition allowed

By JUDY SIEGEL

Pharmaceutical companies in the development towns would immediately fire numerous workers if the Health Ministry's proposed rules for opening the sector to foreign competition are implemented, the head of the Israel Manufacturing Association's pharmaceutical branch charged yesterday.

Moshe Manor told the Knesset Labor and Social Affairs Committee that the association "does not object" to liberalization in general, but to the fact that local companies "will be forced to observe different licensing standards" than American and European pharmaceutical companies, whose products will be imported.

Manor said that if the new regulations, which are expected to increase the amount of imported drugs by 10 percent this year, are implemented, workers in Or Akiva, Kiryat Shmona, Kiryat Malachi, Ashdod and Yeroham will face dismissals.

These additional imports will total \$375 million, much to the detriment of local industry, he said.

"The ministry proposal will bring about a situation in which there won't be mutuality in registration of pharmaceuticals between Israel and the US and Europe. The demands that Israeli companies would have to fulfill to register drugs in Europe will be more severe than those of foreign companies that want to register their drugs here," he added.

Israel Airports Authority BEN GURION 2000 PROJECT

Public Tender No. C4010049
Energy Center Building Contract

The Israel Airports Authority (IAA) hereby requests Proposals from qualified Offerors meeting the below listed Pre-Conditions for the Construction of the Energy Center Building Construction for the Ben Gurion 2000 Project. The Work of this Contract generally includes performing and managing all structural, architectural, plumbing work, building enclosure and roofing, site development and the coordination of and with other contractors on site.

Preliminary Mandatory Requirements: This list summarizes the Pre-Conditions for an Offeror's Proposal to be considered by the IAA. Only the complete language of the Pre-Conditions as stated in the RFP is binding. This text may be obtained by written request, submitted on company letterhead, to the PMF facsimile number stated below.

1. Offeror's minimum annual revenue in each of the last three (3) years was no less than the equivalent of Eighteen Million U.S. Dollars (\$18 million).
2. Offeror's records must indicate, for each of the last three (3) years, the cost paid directly for labor for at least two hundred (200) persons (annual average).
3. Offeror has constructed and completed a minimum of either:
 - a. Two (2) projects of 20,000 square meters in size, each within the last five (5) years; or
 - b. At least one (1) 20,000 square meter project and at least two (2) electro-mechanical system projects, each of not less than 4,500 square meters in area, or the equivalent of six million US dollars (\$6 million), all within the last five (5) years.
 All projects and/or systems exclude residential, warehouse and parking facilities.
4. If an Israeli entity, Offeror shall be registered in the State of Israel Contractors Registrar under Group C, Branch 100, Type 5 (Unlimited).
5. Offeror shall meet the staffing and personnel experience requirements in the RFP, Exhibit A.
6. Offeror shall meet the registration requirements for a legal entity stated in the RFP, Exhibit A.
7. Offeror shall meet the VAT and Israeli Tax Authority's registration requirements stated in the RFP, Exhibit A.
8. Offeror shall provide an unconditional Bank Guarantee in the amount of Two (2) million New Israeli Shekels (NIS), valid for a minimum of ninety (90) days from the Proposal Submission Date, as specified in the RFP, Exhibit E.
9. Joint Ventures are allowed to participate in the Tender in accordance with the conditions stated in the RFP, Part B, Section 2 and Exhibit A.
10. Offeror, if a foreign entity, shall additionally provide a Commercial Cooperation Undertaking Agreement.

Additional Preliminary Requirements:

Participation in the Tender Process is subject to the Offeror's satisfying all Preliminary Requirements as detailed in the Mandatory Tender Regulations (1993), Clause 6 (a), (1), (2) and (3).

Proposal Documents: Tender Documents may be purchased until the Proposal Submission Date for the non-refundable amount of Thirteen Thousand New Israeli Shekels (13,000 NIS), including VAT.

Tender Documents are available from the Project Management Firm (PMF) Project Office located at Ben Gurion International Airport, starting May 14, 1998 between the hours of 9:00 and 12:00, business days (Sunday through Thursday). Interested Offerors must contact the PMF Contracts Administrator, Mr. Zvi Peretz Cohen at 972-3-977-4456 (fax: 972-3-971-2958) a minimum of forty eight (48) hours in advance to arrange Site access. Interested parties may preview the Tender Documents prior to their purchase.

All qualifying Proposals shall be delivered in sealed envelopes/packages not later than 10:00 hours local time on or before June 16, 1998 to the appropriate tender box located in the Archive of the Airports Authority, Main Office, 2nd Floor, Room No. 113, Ben Gurion International Airport, Israel.

A Pre-Proposal conference will be held at the Ben Gurion 2000 Project Site Offices on May 27, 1998 at 12:00 to clarify provisions in the RFP documents, to summarize and present the Project and to respond to written questions posed by Offerors. Offerors are strongly encouraged to attend, but participation is not mandatory. Site access must be arranged in advance as stated in the RFP.

The IAA is not bound to accept the lowest Proposal or any Proposal whatsoever.

D-20703

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BIRD OF PARADISE (Old City) - Fresh home made food - Dairy and vegetarian cuisine, mellow atmosphere in the heart of the Jewish Quarter, live music and poetry. Kasher 56 Chabad St. (above the Cardo). Tel. 02-626 4723.

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Suharto stays mum as nation struggles back

By JIM DELLA-GIACOMA

JAKARTA (Reuters) - President Suharto kept his nation guessing yesterday over his next moves to righteously Indonesia as battle-scarred Jakarta began trickling back to work.

The 76-year-old president, harried by rioters, student demonstrators and increasingly outspoken political foes, has promised a cabinet reshuffle to appease demands for reform.

A procession of military and political leaders, including armed forces commander Gen. Wiranto, have trooped in to see him since he returned on Friday from a visit to Egypt.

But there was still no further word yesterday from his modest home in the Menteng area of central Jakarta 24 hours after news of the

impending reshuffle was announced by Parliament Speaker Harmoko.

Some analysts said the position of Wiranto, who is also defense minister, might be in doubt.

There are conflicting reports of divisions within the military and of tension at the top, particularly between Wiranto and Suharto's ambitious son-in-law, Gen. Prabowo, who heads the strategic reserve command.

There was also speculation the reshuffle might include the removal of Suharto family adherents, answering criticism of nepotism in ruling circles.

A mere reshuffle was dismissed as too little, too late by several opponents.

They doubted that anything less than Suharto's departure after 32 years at the helm of the world's

fourth most populous nation would prevent renewed eruptions of the rioting that killed more than 500 in the capital last week.

Thousands of foreign residents packed into Jakarta's international airport for emergency airlifts laid on by their home countries.

They said they feared more violence on National Awakening Day on Wednesday, which marks the 90th anniversary of the founding of an anti-Dutch colonial nationalist movement.

Students who ignited the current wave of unrest with demonstrations demanding Suharto must go were expected to take to the streets in their thousands again on Wednesday.

Jakarta, patrolled by armored vehicles, was quiet on Saturday. There were spasms of unrest in several other cities on Friday night and



Indonesian President Suharto (AP)

Saturday, including Medan in North Sumatra - scene of the worst rioting before Jakarta ignited - and

Boyolali, Karanganyar and Sukoharjo in central Java.

Hundreds of rioters were reported to have burned dozens of shops, offices, banks and vehicles in the central Java cities.

The army said on Saturday 499 people had been killed in three days of mayhem in Jakarta - hundreds of them looters trapped in shopping malls by the flames they had themselves ignited. More than 1,000 people were arrested.

Nine more charred bodies were recovered yesterday from a smoldering mall where 113 corpses had been found on Saturday.

More than 3,000 buildings, 950 cars and 500 motorcycles were destroyed or damaged last week, city authorities reported.

Markets reopened yesterday morning and streets in the center of the city sputtered back to life as

public and private transport resumed.

People stocked up on food or trooped off to churches and mosques. Hundreds took part in their customary Sunday morning sports and exercise in city parks - watched warily by the 10,000 troops drafted onto the streets to restore order.

The first sign of normalcy came when the ice cream man reappeared on his bicycle, ringing his bell, said one relieved businessman, back at work for the first time since Wednesday.

Since the riots forced Suharto to return to his shattered capital from a summit in Cairo, the president has let it be known he is back in charge.

He ordered the army to restore peace and promised a rare reshuffle of his cabinet, just two months after appointing it, and also promised to

pursue political reforms.

Pro-reform intellectuals, former ministers and officers who met at the University of Indonesia on Saturday were scathing, saying Suharto was merely trying to buy time, the Jakarta Post reported yesterday.

"It's too little, too late," said former finance minister Frans Seda.

Ex-energy minister Subroto said "A cabinet reshuffle formally means President Suharto chooses again new ministers according to his tastes and preferences. So because of that I am not impressed."

Retired Lt.-Gen. Kemal Idris, 75, former chief of the Strategic Reserves Command - Suharto's power base when he seized power in 1965 - said the president himself had to go and return "people's sovereignty to the people."

Microsoft talks collapse, antitrust lawsuit likely

By JAMES VICINI

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Talks collapsed on Saturday between Microsoft Corp. and government officials, making likely the filing of a big antitrust suit against the software giant today.

Representatives of the US Justice Department and 20 states held two days of talks in Washington in a bid to explore whether a settlement could be reached to avoid a lawsuit.

"It appears that it's over," for a negotiated settlement, said a source close to the state attorneys-general. "It looks very likely that the state attorneys general will file on Monday," he added.

"It seems pretty clear that everybody is going to sue on Monday," the source said.

The Justice Department confirmed in a brief statement that the talks were over.

"At this point they are not expected to resume," it said.

Federal and state governments had been poised to file antitrust suits on Thursday but agreed to talks in return for Microsoft agreeing to delay Friday's shipment of its Windows 98 operating system to computer makers until Monday.

Microsoft chairman Bill Gates said he was "very disappointed" by the breakdown in the talks.

He said the company had

"worked hard for 10 days" to make the negotiations succeed because he felt it was likely a compromise could be reached.

"But the government made some non-negotiable demands that were very surprising to us," Gates said in a videotaped response distributed by Microsoft.

"The government is going to file a lawsuit. Microsoft is innocent of any of these charges and we're certainly going to defend ourselves vigorously," he added.

Gates said the company would go ahead with its planned June 25 public release of the updated version of the enormously popular Windows 98 software "now that

the government has decided to sue." Shipments are to begin today.

The states and the Justice Department have reached a major complaint accusing Microsoft of abusing its power and driving competitors from the lucrative software market.

Microsoft's critics charge it has unfairly competed by incorporating more and more features into its Windows operating systems and using its dominance to dissuade computer makers from removing its screen icons and products.

But the company says it is giving consumers the best operating systems possible by integrating features like its Microsoft Explorer

web browser into Windows 98.

The source close to the states said the talks ended when Microsoft withdrew a major concession it had offered on Thursday to allow computer makers to modify the startup screen consumers see when they switch on their computer for the first time.

"They [Microsoft] walked away from the discussion," the source said.

But Gates said state and federal lawyers had wanted to force computer makers to ship Windows 98 with a rival Internet browser made by Netscape Communications Corp., among other unreasonable demands.

Indonesian army faces dilemma

JAKARTA (Reuters) - Indonesia's powerful military faces several dilemmas in the wake of last week's unrest and with more protests still to come, analysts said yesterday.

The armed forces, potential kingmakers in this nation of 200 million people, would like to produce reforms that will satisfy demands for swift change without undermining President Suharto, they said.

"Even though some of the officers, if you talk to them personally, say they are sympathetic to the students' demands, they are still following the orders of Suharto as the highest authority in the military," said analyst Salim Said.

The armed forces face more demonstrations by students whose demands for reform military chief Wiranto calls "moral" and who clearly does not want to crack down.

But they fear major demonstrations scheduled for Wednesday may again degenerate into riots.

And they may not be as united as they say they are over how to deal with the worst crisis of Suharto's 32 years in power.

Students across the world's fourth most populous nation have been staging protests for three months to demand immediate political reform.

Out of the protests, riots erupted last week in Jakarta and other cities. More than 500 people died in Jakarta before a heavy army presence restored relative calm.

On Wednesday, students around the country plan major pro-reform protests on National Awakening Day, which marks the 1908 foundation of the first nationalist movement, begun by students, when Indonesia was ruled by the Dutch.

Suharto, who has tolerated little opposition, has bent somewhat to the student demands, saying reforms can be prepared but most cannot be implemented constitutionally until the end of his seventh five-year term in 2003.

Although the military, known by the Indonesian acronym ABRI, has given plenty of hints that reform would be acceptable, it has not handed out clues as to exactly what.

"ABRI wants reform that is constitutional and peaceful," ABRI socio-political chief Lt.-Gen.

Bambang Yudoyono told a parliamentary committee on Friday.

Wiranto told the armed forces would make their position public, after considering all input from many sides, and asked for patience.

Diplomatic sources said the ABRI position was close to that of academics from the University of Indonesia (UI), who presented vague proposals for more genuine multi-party democracy, as well as economic and political reforms to Suharto on Saturday.

The academics at the country's top university addressed the sensitive succession issue by gently suggesting all senior officials have limited terms to "regenerate an elite executive which is democratic," he said.

"ABRI does have short-, medium- and long-term concepts for reform aligned to the UI package calling for political, economic and legal change," said one western military attaché.

"But ABRI has decided it will do all of its change through the ABRI faction in parliament and this means ABRI is attempting to avoid any form of overt use of force to achieve change."

"The military is clearly worried about its ability to deal with widespread unrest."

"ABRI is not ready to face crisis points with all crowds all over the country. ABRI in Jakarta is not designed for such unrest," Wiranto told the parliamentary committee.

Wiranto has said ABRI will treat demonstrators differently from rioters and looters. But that could create confusion among relatively unsophisticated soldiers on the streets.

"Distinguishing between rioters and students could create massive problems for their (ABRI's) subordinates. They have said they won't shoot students, but they will quite happily take out rioters," the military attaché said.

"What we've got are essentially confusing orders... There is a potential there for some mistakes to be made."

Analysts are far from sure the armed forces are united, even though all the top generals have personal links to Suharto, including his son-in-law Lt.-Gen. Prabowo Subianto, tipped as a future army chief.

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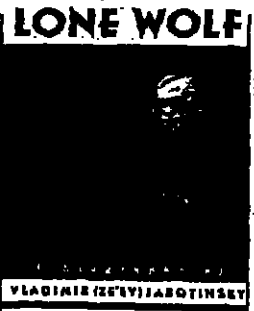
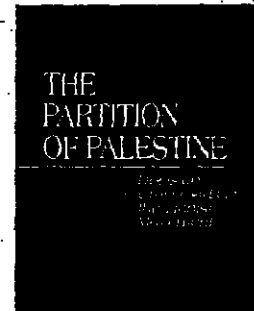
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98

JSO strikes a popular balance

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

In an era in which orchestras try to please their subscribers by sticking to the tried and true composers like Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms and Dvorak and by shying away from 20th-century composers, the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra is a breath of fresh air.

Music director David Shallon, one of the most intriguing, penetrating and worthy music directors Israel has known for a long time, believes in the necessity of performing the music of the 20th century.

A look at the recently announced JSO 1998/99 season is evidence of that belief.

Of course there are the obligatory Dvorak, Chopin, Brahms and Beethoven works on the season program. But there are also Richard Strauss, Stravinsky, Bartok, Britten, Pärtos and Avni, as well as works by contemporary composers.

All in all, a very well-balanced and captivating season with something for all music lovers.

Shallon leads his orchestra in five of the nine classical series concerts, featuring soloists such as Alexander Korsantiya (piano), Gyorgy Pauk (violin), Orly Shaham (piano), Chantal Juillet (violin), the incomparable Tabea Zimmermann (viola) and others.

The repertoire includes such masterpieces as Bartok's one-act opera *Duke Bluebeard's Castle*, and Britten's monumental *War Requiem*.

The seven-concert popular series aims at introducing the charms of classical music to audiences not that familiar with the genre.

This season the series has enjoyed a huge success with large audiences, and next season promises to be no different with theme evenings like Broadway.



JSO music director David Shallon: One of the most intriguing and worthy music directors the country has known for a long time

The Concert (following this year's enjoyable West End: The Concert); operetta delights; a tango evening; and a jazz meets the symphony concert with Lalo Schifrin, alongside more obvious classical music works such as Vivaldi's *The Four Seasons* and Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.

Musicians featured in this series

include Shlomo Mintz, Sergiu Comissiona, Peter Guth, and Martin Yates.

The JSO continues next season with its very popular children's series, *Do Re Mix*, and features a new series of Friday Coffee concerts (at noon). The annual Liturgica festival next season (December-January) is highlighted

by a gala concert celebrating the JSO's 60th anniversary featuring Beethoven's ninth symphony and new work by Betty Olivero. Other Liturgica concerts feature Mozart's *Coronation Mass*, the Fauré requiem and masses by Haydn.

The JSO opens its season with the Jerusalem International Chamber

Music Festival (September 3-12), ten days of exciting marathon-like chamber music concerts under the artistic directorship of pianist Elena Bashkirtova.

JSO subscription prices vary from NIS 970-870 (classical series), through NIS 860-760 (popular series) to NIS 300-190 for the children's series.

Potted Potter

Movie Review



By Adina Hoffman

The latest film by veteran French director Alain Resnais, *On Connait La Chanson*, is an homage to the late, great English TV dramatist Dennis Potter. Viewed in terms of Potter's own work, it's also a singularly peculiar example of how the same simple technique may be used by two different artists to radically varied ends.

In this case, Resnais adopts

ON CONNAIT LA CHANSON

Directed by Alain Resnais. Written by Agnes Jaoui and Jean-Pierre Bacri. Hebrew title: *Hachain ham shir*. 122 minutes. French dialogue, Hebrew subtitles only. 122 minutes. Not recommended for children.

With Sabine Azema, Pierre Arditi, Agnes Jaoui, Andree Dussollier, Jean-Pierre Bacri and Lambert Wilson

Potter's pet device and lets his characters express their thoughts by means of lip-synching popular songs. While Potter relied on full-length renditions of English-language standards (all of a single period and style) to evoke feeling and mood, Resnais inserts little scraps of French favorites (both older and contemporary) into the dialogue as a sort of witty intellectual exercise.

Sometimes we hear only a line, and often a man will open his mouth and sing a snatch of Edith Piaf, or a woman belt a Serge Gainsbourg refrain.

Resnais rarely lets these out-of-body musical interludes last more than a few seconds at a time, never

long enough for us to be swept up in the song.

The effect is more one of *Name That Tune*-style recognition (or not, if, like me, you're unfamiliar with most of the musical selections at hand) and this inside-joke abruptness, combined with the Brechtian performance style and random range of the music itself, only adds to the odd, almost arid nature of the project, which seems ultimately more intriguing as an experiment than it is successful as a film.

On *Connait* may be the most cerebral movie musical I've ever seen. This is not a compliment. While Potter used his love of popular song to express both sharp intelligence and deep pathos in a way that always seemed strangely natural — it somehow made perfect emotional logic when, say, the doctors in a London public hospital broke into harmony and danced — Resnais seems more intent on amusing his audience in a brittle, parlor-game manner. It may be that these songs affect his countrymen more strongly (which the film's popular success in France and seven Oscars, including best movie, would indicate). But to an outsider, for whom the music of Silvie Vartan and Eddie Mitchell has no emotional associations, nor resonance in the film's present tense, it all seems a bit silly.

That said, the *unsung* parts of this movie are actually quite charming. In a slight, intentionally trifling style reminiscent of a chatty Eric Rohmer film, Resnais and scriptwriters Agnes Jaoui and Jean-Pierre Bacri spin several interlocking and quintessentially Parisian stories of love, betrayal and real estate, which are helped along by a number of winning performances. (Jaoui herself is especially fine as a depressive tour guide and history student, and Andree Dussollier is dopey and appealing as a middle-aged friend who secretly adores her.)

No question, Resnais has lightened up with the years, his swank old *Last Year at Marienbad* presentations given way to work that is at once less meaningful and more watchable. In fact, the clipped, dry tone that seems so wrong for the musical sections works quite well elsewhere. A refreshing, skit-like comic briskness fills the spoken scenes here and keeps the film afloat, if not always on key.

Sobol takes on Alma Mahler in new Cameri season

By HELEN KAYE

Clashing in on its own trend, the Cameri theater's '98/'99 season is almost all new Israeli plays. In a profession still dominated by men, many women playwrights, directors and heroines have grabbed a goodly chunk of the repertoire.

The season's openers in September, however, are by men. *Alma*, a new play by Yehoshua Sobol, who will also direct, is about Alma Mahler. She was Gustav Mahler's wife, the mistress of Franz Werfel, and then the wife of Walter Gropius.

Alma has fascinated Sobol for years. Through the life of his tempestuous subject, his play explores an equally stormy era.

Uri Muri, novelist Yitzhak Ben-Ner's first play, explores a Lolita theme — the love of a middle-aged man for his adopted Ethiopian daughter.

Cameri actress Zaharira Harifa'i makes her professional directorial debut with *Dvora Baron*, a debut play by novelist Yehudit Katzir, about Israel's first feminist writer, who became agoraphobic. Her story is told through Baron's epileptic daughter for whom she cared devotedly.

Playwright Edna (A Family Story) Mazia, making her directorial bow, will work on *Best*

Friends by her own close friend, Anat Gov. The play looks at the relationships between three women, once close friends.

Mazia's own new play, *The Rebels*, directed by Omri Nitzan, about three generations of a revolutionary Tel Aviv family, is one of two new Israeli plays which will end this season in June. The other is *Petra*, a new fable on this country's iconic myths by the marvelous team of Yehonatan Gefen and director Eldad Ziv.

Continuing with creative women, Savyon Librecht, whose *Sonya Mushkat* is packing 'em in at Habimah, has written *Intimate Attack* for the Cameri. The play is set in a hospital where family members are keeping vigil following a terrorist attack on a bus on its way to a peace rally.

And some time next year (hopefully for the Israel Festival), Rina Yerusalmi and her Irm Ensemble will present the completion of her exegetic Bible project *Vavishahu Vaya'ar*, which can be roughly translated as "they bowed down and saw". The Cameri deserves all credit for adopting this important artist.

Also included in the lineup: the metaphorical *A Cobbled Pita* by Anton Shammas, based on his novel by Lebanon's Elias Khouri; the surrealist *Sulphur Spring* by Nuriel Tobias; and an "Israelized"

Brecht *Sweet Thing from the Negev*, adapted and directed by Sinai Peter.

The Ibsen centenary gets recognition with *Nora*, an adaptation of *A Doll's House*, a localized interpretation of *An Enemy of the People*.

Contemporary European drama is represented by *Courage* by gritty German playwright Franz Xavier Kreutz.

Fourteen current shows will continue, including the riotous *State Comptroller*, which has passed the 400 mark. The Cameri's impressive stats continue with practically rolling up this year's theater awards with five for Hanoach Levin's *Murder*, more than 1,000 performances for more than 600,000 audience, 38,000 subscribers of various kinds, an earned income of NIS 22 million and, most incredible of all, an anticipated year-end operating surplus of some NIS 790,000.

With that, Cameri general manager Noam Semel said that the theater in general faces a *de facto* 20 percent cut in state subsidies owing to depreciation of the shekel since the 1993 Shelach Commission established a reasonable level of performance-based funding which the state adopted.

NEWS

of the muse

By HELEN KAYE

JEST deserts

The cast and crew of the Jerusalem English-Speaking Theater (JEST) production of Nicholas Wright's *Mrs. Klein* takes off for Ireland, where they'll present the three-character drama on May 26 at the Dundalk International May Festival. Directed by psychologist Bruce Oppenheimer, the play tells the story of the difficult relationship of noted Freudian child psychologist Melanie Klein (played by Dawn Nadel) with her own children, one of whom commits suicide. It has yet to happen that an Israeli production fails to come home with an award or a citation. Past winners have been *Night Mother*, *Ring Around the Moon*, and *The Woman in Black*.

Two new plays on the horizon

The Haifa and Beersheba Theaters both have new productions coming up. At Haifa on June 10 it's *Chimps* by Simon Block, directed by Sinai Peter and adapted to an Israeli milieu by Oren Ne'eman. It's the story of what happens when a couple of manipulative insulation salesmen invade the home of Michael (Ruti Goldberg) and Assaf (Amir Krieff). They want to sell security as well, but that comes with a price that may be too high. In Beersheba, Moti Averbuch, author of the fine *Berta's Piano*, has written a play about the Beduin called *Black Moon* about a tribe's rights to the desert land it has inhabited for generations. The drama is directed by Dr. Razi Amitai and opens June 20.

Nigunim: A festival for every palate

Nigunim, the first of the summer's arts festivals, gets underway from July 6-8 at scenic Re'em National Park in Merom Hagalit. The multicultural festival features star performers such as Rami Kleinstein, Eli Luzon, High Five, and Diklon, as well as representatives of the Druze, Arab, Circassian, Christian and Jewish communities living in the area. This is a beautiful festival which features the different styles of song, dance, customs and food.

Sam Spiegel film school honors Teddy Kollek

Lia Van Leer will acclaim former Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek as an Honorable Fellow of the Jerusalem-based Sam Spiegel film school in a ceremony at the Jerusalem Cinematheque on May 26.

The honor will be presented at the graduation of the class of '98, which will include the screening of seven short films. The same films will later be screened to industry professionals and the general public at the Jerusalem and Tel Aviv cinematheques on June 11 and 15, respectively.

Student film script to international feature

Student screenwriters and directors had the opportunity to "pitch" their ideas for a full-length feature film to the professionals in a first at the International Student Film Festival in Tel Aviv (June 6-13). Seven synopses from the 29 submitted have been chosen. After a workshop on how to do it, the winners will pitch them on June 10 to a panel of local and European TV and film producers. Each of the seven will have eight minutes to convince the panel that his/her screenplay would make a great international movie. The students come from Israel, Switzerland, Britain, and Bulgaria. The panel includes filmmaker and New Film & TV Foundation head, Orna Ben-David, BBC TV producer Mark (Enchanted April) Shivas, and Italian TV rep Frederica Olivares. The most successful "pitchman" will receive a \$5,000 development grant from the New Foundation.

Friends in deed

Choreographer and Batsheva Dance artistic director Ohad Naharin has personally donated \$10,000 as seed money for a fund to support dancers now and in their transition from the dance stage to an alternative profession. BD board chairman Roni Kleiman has donated an equal amount.

"Dancers make very little to begin with," said Naharin. "They barely finish the month." Let alone save for the future. The planned fund will not only cover emergencies in the present but help them when they switch careers.

The Mia Arbatova gala last Saturday was sold out and netted NIS 15,000 to augment the prize money for next year's ballet competition. In addition, the Israel Canada Foundation announced that it would like to support the competition. Foundation funds are currently supporting two of last year's winners at the National Canadian Ballet Academy.

At the Jerusalem Rubin Academy, recent Israeli prizewinner Hassia Levy-Agron presents works by her Springboard dance company at a gala at Gerard Behar on June 10 to honor the artist Yossi Stern. Some of Stern's pictures will be sold and the proceeds will go toward dance scholarships.

GROWTH

Continued from Page 1

While exports of goods and services fell by a yearly 9.5% from October to December, during the following three months they rose 10.7%.

SYRIA

Continued from Page 1

The negotiations, they say, are focusing on Russia's S-300PMU-1 anti-aircraft system, known as the SA-10D, which Moscow plans to deliver to Cyprus later this year, a move sharply criticized by Turkey.

The system has an advanced radar that can spot anything from low-flying airplanes to incoming ballistic missiles.

The S-300 can launch missiles that can strike targets at 150 kilometers and radar that can extend up to 300 km.

Russian defense sources say the S-300 also has the ability to intercept tactical ballistic missiles — an assertion doubted by many US experts.

In an interview with The Jerusalem Post earlier this month, Russian Ambassador to Israel Mikhail Bogdanov said Moscow is willing to sell Damascus the S-300 system.

Concerning Syria's huge military debt to the former Soviet Union — estimated at \$11 billion — Bogdanov said Moscow is now ready to sell what he termed

"defensive weapons." "This [S-300] is not something special," Bogdanov said. "It is a system against planes. The system is like the Patriot missiles that the US is supplying to Israel."

Syria's debt to Russia is no longer a serious obstacle to arms sales, he said, adding that there may be several solutions to what he deemed "a complex issue."

They include partial repayment or establishing an additional grace period before Damascus would have to start erasing its debt.

Other Russian officials said the current arms negotiations with Damascus are based on Syria's ability to pay cash for any new weapons sales. The officials said Syria is now trying to obtain loans from the Gulf countries, particularly Saudi Arabia, for new arms purchases.

Bogdanov suggested that the main reason for the delay in new Syrian arms purchases was Damascus's lack of hard currency.

"If we take into consideration ours and Syria's financial problems, we can explain the ups and downs in this cooperation," he said. "There are recesses in this

cooperation. There are times when they get loans [that will enable them] to pay."

The Russian ambassador stressed that his country would not sell offensive systems to Syria.

Damascus already has a missile production program and is estimated to have up to 1,000 Scud-Cs, with a range that can enable Damascus to strike any part of Israel.

"We have to be very careful not to violate the arms balance in the region," Bogdanov said. "So, in our relations we must stress defensive systems, such as anti-aircraft, not the upgrade of missiles. Certainly, there are no weapons of mass destruction being provided to any country, including Iran."

Bogdanov said that in October, Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov presented evidence to Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai that disputed Israeli assertions that Russian companies were supplying missile technology to Iran.

Mordechai's spokesman, Avi Benayahu, said yesterday that the defense minister "stands by what he said" regarding Russian missile technology transfer to Iran.

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Military criticism

Anger is a brief madness," said the Roman poet Horace. If so, then former deputy chief of General Staff Maj.-Gen. Matan Vilna'i might employ the insanity defense to explain his outburst on Friday, in which he described his non-promotion as a "shameful act" and a "dirty trick." Vilna'i could well be a victim of mistreatment, but his inability to hold his public criticisms until out of uniform is a serious stain on a distinguished military career.

In his first public speech since the announcement that Maj.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz, not he, would be the next chief of General Staff, Vilna'i spoke in uniform, and in the presence of many journalists. In a speech ironically titled "Excellence in Leadership," Vilna'i himself set a negative example for officers throughout the military with his undisguised criticism of the political leadership.

"I will find the right place and the right time [to react further] and will not spare a single word," said a bitter Vilna'i. "I believe everything has to be said in a fair, clear, and smooth way in order for people to understand what we are talking about." By launching his first barrage of criticism now, Vilna'i has left a generalized accusation in the air, leaving the public guessing as to whether he is charging more than he should have been chosen instead. Given the widespread opinion that Vilna'i was the more natural choice, and sympathy for his position, it is hard to understand why he would undermine that support by sounding such a sour note.

It is not surprising that Vilna'i has much to say about being passed over for CGS, after being the apparent sure bet for the post since he became deputy chief of staff. He may well have been the better choice, but no one can take the appointment to the top spot for granted, or deny that it is the political leadership that has the right and the duty to make the final call.

Once out of uniform, and after he takes his separation leave and retires from active duty, it would be understandable and even warranted for Vilna'i to give his side of the story regarding the widely criticized process of appointing the next CGS. But until then, it is out of place for Vilna'i to act as if frankness in public were a virtue.

Recently another senior officer, Brig.-Gen. Ya'acov Amidror, decided he would be "frank"

in an on-the-record interview to *Yediot Aharonot*, in which he said "the secular are nothing but Hebrew-speaking gentiles." Unlike Vilna'i, Amidror does not even have a semblance of a legitimate grievance to explain his disparaging and divisive remarks. There are certainly valid criticisms that can be made of secular — and of religious — culture, but again, no justification for a senior officer doing so in uniform.

Outgoing CGS Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak was right to criticize both Vilna'i and Amidror for speaking out of school, but neither was disciplined in any way. In other countries, blatant, public criticism of the defense minister by a serving general — in Vilna'i's case — would be grounds for automatic dismissal. Amidror scuttled his immediate chances to become head of Military Intelligence, but he is still being promoted to the rank of major-general in the new round of changes.

Among his many priorities as the new CGS, Mofaz should make it clear to his generals that they are not members of the cabinet. In Israel, ministers routinely criticize the government in which they sit — another tradition that other countries do fine living without. But even here the public rightly expects soldiers in uniform, from private to CGS, to confine their criticisms to proper channels.

The fact that the military, by and large, meets this public expectation of discipline is an important factor in making it the most respected institution in the country. It is no coincidence that the political leadership, which tends to lack such discipline, also tends to lose public respect in direct proportion to the degree of its public backbiting.

Mofaz will enter his position handicapped by the perception that he, however talented, leapfrogged over a more experienced general and may not be ready yet for the responsibility with which he has been entrusted. For this reason, he may have difficulty asserting the authority necessary to quiet unprofessional modes of criticism, without seeming to stifle legitimate dissent. As much as it may seem unfair, it is important that generals such as Vilna'i continue to serve their country, even after retiring, by not undermining the new military leadership. Such is the sort of teamwork the public learns and demands from the military, and has a right to expect.

Power to punish

YOSEF GOELL

Israel's State Comptroller's Office, which is charged with overseeing the legality, honesty and effectiveness of the management and operations of the governmental civil service, the local authorities and the armed services, is one of the most impressive of its kind in the democratic world.

This has been all the more true during the 10-year incumbency of the outgoing comptroller, former Supreme Court justice Miriam Ben-Porat, who has been more outspoken in her criticism of official malfeasance and outright corruption than any of her predecessors.

It is thus all the more cause for chagrin that if one is to judge from the details and general tenor of the 48th annual Comptroller's

Sapir, Aranne and the like got rid of the miscreants quietly.

This was possible because the patriotic press of that time was very tame and Israel Radio was controlled from the Prime Minister's Office.

BY the 1970s, there was much more worth stealing, and highly placed officials such as Michael Tsur and Asher Yadin were around to oblige. By now, however, there was also a much more pugnacious press which did not permit major acts of corruption to be buried quietly.

The public's heightened sensitivity to political corruption was an important factor in Labor's 1977 electoral defeat, ending 42 years of uninterrupted power in the Yishuv and in Israel.

Let the comptroller punish major sinners by suspending them and pressing charges against them directly

Report, the public service seems to have returned to the excesses of the worst old Mapai years of the 1950s.

Israel's early, heroic years were also a period of extreme managerial inefficiency, political favoritism and petty corruption. The saving grace was that Israel was so dirt-poor that there was very little worth stealing.

The country's top leaders, like Ben-Gurion, Sharett, Eshkol, Sapir and Golda Meir, were honest to a fault. But as realistic readers of human foibles they often tolerated a certain degree of dishonesty in their underlings.

Finance minister Levi Eshkol, who was Israel's financial czar for over a decade, was famous for citing the biblical precept, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox in its threshing," to excuse Jewish Agency officials who had divvied up some choice lands in the Jezreel Valley among themselves and their friends.

The red line for the top leadership was any scandal which posed a potential threat to the hegemony of Mapai. When such acts of corruption in office threatened the party, leaders like Golda,

One of the great disappointments of the Likud's rise to power under Menachem Begin was that it failed to act like the new broom that one could have expected from a party that had spent 29 years in opposition.

It didn't take long for the Likud governments to outdo Mapai's worst political corruption, but there was a new factor: the total dependence of the Likud, and later of Labor, on the support of the haredi parties, which had previously shunned participation in the government due to their ideological opposition to the existence of Israel.

The past two decades have seen the emergence of unprecedented aspects of political corruption in the ministries and governmental agencies controlled by the haredi parties. The fact that the present comptroller's report zeroes in so bluntly on the Ministry of Housing and on United Torah Judaism Deputy Minister Meir Porush as being responsible for some of the worst mismanagement, and unabashed favoritism in doling out housing, mortgages, budgets and jobs for the boys, is nothing new.

Arafat's pattern of violence

YOSSI OLMERT

And yet, serious people here and abroad relate to the Oslo process as if we are dealing with a normal political process.

Officially, the Palestinians vented their anger at Israel's jubilee celebrations, but this is really just an excuse. What actually happened was a repetition of the riots which followed the opening of the

Arafat pays occasional lip service to his opposition to violence, but he was, still is, and will continue to be the champion of violence, the true commander of Palestinian terrorism.

ARAFAT is, therefore, a dubious, if not impossible partner to any peace process. His strategic aim is

Whenever Arafat is dissatisfied with the political situation, he resorts to violence

Western Wall tunnel.

We're talking about a pattern here: Whenever Arafat and the Palestinian leadership are dissatisfied with the political situation, they resort to violence — the only language with which they feel at home. The problem is that violence is incompatible with a peace process.

Anwar Sadat, a true man of peace, understood this when he came to Jerusalem and made his historic, unforgettable statement about "no more war." Yasser

to declare unilaterally, on May 4, 1999, the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, hoping to win immediate recognition from many nations, and then, on the basis of this international legitimacy, he will wage a war of "national liberation" against Israel.

Surely, most world nations will grant him recognition. It is not clear yet as to what will be the American reaction. If we are to believe the First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, the highest ech-

elons of the American administration support the establishment of such a state, but this support may not necessarily be expressed through automatic diplomatic recognition.

Congress will strongly oppose such recognition, as will most of the Jewish community and other friends of Israel. President Clinton himself, meanwhile, is fighting for his own political survival.

In light of this, it is clear what Netanyahu is actually doing in Washington these days: he is not seriously negotiating with Arafat and company, rather he is launching the battle for American public opinion and support in anticipation of the forthcoming diplomatic campaign which will follow the inevitable Palestinian declaration.

Netanyahu was always at his best fighting for the heart and soul of America. However, he may still discover that the toughest battle of all has to be fought here in Israel, as, and it seems almost certain, the Palestinians step up the pressure and resort to all out, blatant terrorism, orchestrated and commanded by none other than Yasser Arafat himself.

Numbers out of a hat

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

memo from then-ambassador Martin Indyk stating the official US position that "further redeployment phases are issues for implementation by Israel rather than issues for negotiation with the Palestinians. The letters of assurance which Secretary Christopher intends to provide to both parties also refer to the process of further

LAST week at the National Press Club, Albright gave a hastily arranged speech to explain her position. Its essential, tendentious theme was that all of the problems in the peace process are traceable to Netanyahu. Everything has gone to pieces, she averred, "in just two years." You don't need to be a CIA codebreaker to under-

Are the assurances this administration gives Israel worth the paper they are written on?

redeployments as an Israeli responsibility." Sixteen months later in London, Albright tells Israel that its 9 percent is no good. The withdrawal walks away. She gives Netanyahu three days to give his answer. He tells her: "I don't need three days. The answer is no."

So now we have a crisis. And though it was manufactured by State to put pressure on Netanyahu, it reveals instead a crisis of credibility for this administration: How can Israel make ever more dangerous concessions to the Palestinians when the American assurances it receives to offset those concessions are so perishable?

stand what that means: Netanyahu was elected prime minister two years ago this month.

The historic Hebron withdrawal, in which Netanyahu single-handedly brought Likud and the Israeli Right into the land-for-peace Oslo process, received nary a word. That's because the only praise offered in her speech was reserved for Arafat.

Albright credits him for making "substantial changes in [his] negotiating position." He had wanted a 30 percent Israeli withdrawal but was willing to accept 13.1.

How generous.

But the US position is that under the Oslo Accords Arafat has no say one way or the other in the size of these withdrawals. He picked 30

percent out of a hat. It appears nowhere in Oslo. It appears nowhere anywhere. He could have picked 60 percent.

But Albright did not just praise Arafat for changing his negotiating position on an issue the United States has declared is not his to negotiate. She also studiously omitted any reference to the solemn commitments Arafat made in previous negotiations and has systematically violated: He has not changed the Palestinian charter calling for Israel's destruction; he has refused to extradite terrorists; he has built an army more than twice the size that Oslo permits; his Palestine Authority conducts a continuing and vile media campaign of antisemitic and anti-Israel incitement. The list is long.

On all these, under silence. However this crisis ends, Israel needs a US assurance that after this, it will not be browbeaten yet again over yet another interim redeployment — that this 9 or 11 or 13 percent withdrawal is the very last until Israel and the Palestinians determine in "final status" talks the permanent frontier between them.

The assurance is needed. But the question remains: Are the assurances this administration gives as Israel enters life-and-death negotiations worth the paper they are written on?

(Washington Post Writers Group)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

STOP BLAMING ISRAEL

Sir, — In marking *al Nakba* (national catastrophe) to coincide with Israel's jubilee, the Palestinians are aiming at focusing public opinion on their cause. However, inasmuch as we regard their tragedy with empathy, the following points shouldn't be overlooked.

While the wars launched against Israel were wars of aggression, the Arabs are being compensated according to the formula "land for peace," a precedent non-existent in international law and historical records.

It is worthwhile citing World War II after which Germany

accepted its defeat and consequently ceded Pomerania, Silesia and the Sudeten; no one heard of a German PLO (i.e. Pomeranian Liberation Organization) being formed. This is not an exceptional case — this is the norm in military history.

Once Israel accepted the "land for peace" formula at Camp David, it is and will be a trump card in Arab hands in present and future negotiations. This point is raised in order to refute the repeated Arab accusations that the Jews robbed them of their land for no cause whatsoever.

There is also a misconception about the loss of life among the

contending parties. Israel's casualties in the 1948 war alone numbered 6,000 out of 600,000 — 1% of its total population (in terms of today's US population, equivalent to 2.5 million people). There is no estimate as to casualties among the 1.5 million Arab inhabitants of the country. But they are incomparable to the heavy losses suffered by the Jews, because they either fled or stayed but scarcely took part in the fighting — the brunt of which fell on the armies of the Arab invading states.

The massive flight of the Arabs can be partly attributed to two factors. Firstly, the hollow promise of their leaders that the flight would be short and they would soon be returning home. Another is the countryside impact of the massacre at Deir Yassin. Though exploited by the Arabs primarily to denigrate Israel, it backfired — leading to mass panic and flight.

All was inevitably bring in their wake a refugee problem. Isn't it time for the Palestinians to stop putting the blame on Israel and admit their own shortcomings?

Israel's humorist Ephraim Kishon wrote after the Six Day War "sorry we won." It's time for the Palestinians to admit "sorry we lost" and look forward to peaceful coexistence with their Israeli neighbors.

ELIYAHU TAL
Tel Aviv.

ABILITY TO LAUGH

Sir, — I have just returned from Israel and wanted to let you know that the highlight of my vacation was the last morning in Jerusalem when the Hilton delivered my complimentary newspaper.

When I read Calev Ben-David's review about *Jubilee Bells* (May 8), I never laughed so hard in a long time! Thank you Calev, you are an excellent writer full of wit and humor, and thank you for showing me that amongst the religious study and seriousness of Israel's many political problems, there is the ability to laugh at the reality of situations.

CINDA SMAAGAARD
Spokane, WA.

BEYOND BELIEF

Sir, — It is beyond belief that some people consider Dana and transsexuals as the worse kinds of human beings.

Nobody condemns a woman who was born without a womb, or a man who is infertile. Nobody kills a baby with one leg or with six fingers. Medicine helps and they all can lead a normal life.

Dana is a woman now. She can have a family, adopt children (like many, many other famous women) and it is time to forget the operation she underwent.

Congratulations, Dana, enjoy your victory!

We wish you a longlasting career and much more happiness.

ELISABETH BATES
Haifa.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On May 18, 1933, *The Palestine Post* reported that President Roosevelt had proposed a World Non-Aggression Pact to mobilize world opinion against selfish and short-sighted policies and to offset the impact of one of Hitler's recent addresses to the German people.

50 years ago: On May 18, 1948, *The Palestine Post* reported that Israel applied for admission to UN. Jewish Jerusalem was

shelled by Arab Legion cannon throughout the day and the nearby Neveh Ya'acov settlement was evacuated following a fierce shelling during which four defenders were killed and 17 wounded. Two ships, *Nitzahon* (Victory) and *Medinat Yisrael*, with 600 passengers disembarked in Tel Aviv.

25 years ago: On May 18, 1973, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that defense minister Moshe

Dayan's views on the need of the settlement in the occupied territories had the support of 59 percent of the public, while only 17 percent supported Yigal Allon's ideas of the settlement along the Jordan River and his offer to return some of the captured territory back to the Arabs in return for peace. Two and a half percent held no opinion.

Alexander Zvielli

Riding the Tiger

India Charts a Pariah's Path to Glory

By JOHN F. BURNS

FOR optimists who look toward the 21st century for the emergence of a more rational and harmonious world, there was little encouragement to be had from the dialogue of the deaf that developed between India and the United States last week after India announced itself as the world's newest nuclear power.

President Clinton's lament, delivered in Berlin, spoke for the sense just about everywhere that India's detonation of five nuclear tests in its northwestern desert had failed India's own needs and traditions, and had dramatically destabilized one of the world's tinderbox regions. Calling India "a perfectly wonderful country," he suggested that chauvinism and vainglory, not any rational calculation of security needs, had prompted the decision to test. "It is not necessary for them to manifest

Nuclear tests expose the myth of the land of Gandhi.

national greatness by doing this," he said. "It is a terrible decision."

But the world's affairs are full of ironies. As Mr. Clinton spoke, 4,000 miles to the east the slum-dwellers of New Delhi were offering their own response to the tests. Near the residence of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, India's new Hindu nationalist leader, in what Indians call a jhuggi — a huddle of tin-and-wood shacks against a brick wall — migrants from the same poverty-stricken area where the nuclear blasts were conducted gathered at dusk to stage a festival of joy.

A Dance of Joy

These were exactly the sort of Indians Mr. Clinton might have had in mind when he alluded to the other uses India might have made of its energies, and its money: Not one had a decent pair of shoes; none of their children had seen a school; most had never earned more than \$1 a day. Yet they lit firecrackers, danced to blaring taped music and thanked the Hindu gods. "Bharat Mata Jai!" they cried. "Victory to Mother India!"

Whatever else the Indian tests may have meant to a world eager to lessen the menace of nuclear weapons, the reactions abroad and at home showed the existence of two Indias: one that occupies a favored space in the world's consciousness, the India of Buddha and Mohandas K. Gandhi, of ashrams and sacred riv-



The Hindu god Shiva appears in many guises. One of these is the Destroyer, in which he is often shown wearing a garland of skulls.

ers, of huddled masses of the poor, yearning for relief yet ever serene; and another India, awakening to the modern world, impatient of old indignities and infirmities, eager for symbols of national wealth and power.

Dissent at Home

To be sure, not all Indians welcomed the arrival of the bomb, or shared the Prime Minister's casual assumption that India will triumph over the harsh economic sanctions imposed by the United States, Japan, Germany and a dozen other nations. Amid the general jubilation, a small minority of Indians made it clear that they were not so ready to relinquish the image Gandhi bequeathed, of a nation as simple and unaggressive as the Mahatma himself.

When the clouds of dust and startled birds had settled over the test sites in the Thar desert, there were some who saw the blasts as the ultimate repudiation of Gandhi's lesson of nonviolence, and remembered his

After the blasts, a dialogue of the deaf with America.

teaching that "an eye for an eye only ends up making the whole world blind." Some focused on the risks of an uncontrolled nuclear arms race, or even of another war, with Pakistan, or of a return to the animosities with China that brought war in 1962 and cost India a fifth of its most northerly state, Jammu and Kashmir.

Others counted the billions of dollars India stands to lose in aid. In New Delhi and Bangalore, there were fears for the rebuilding of the cities' polluted water systems, a crucial step toward the safe water needed to cut epidemic dysentery, malaria and typhoid. A plan to build a subway for New Delhi's 12 million people was another potential casualty. In each case, withdrawal of aid could only mean more years deferring Gandhi's promise to "wipe every tear from every eye."

Although the Indian establishment lined up virtually four-square behind Mr. Vajpayee, there were many who recalled that it was these costs, as much as the risks of heightened tensions, that persuaded India not to carry out tests in 1995, when the American spy satellites that missed the preparations this time picked up signs that tests were imminent. The American ambassador at the time, Frank G. Wisner, gave P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Prime Minister, a sobering account of the cost to America of its own nuclear arsenal — as

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People Power Indonesia's revolt has neither, yet.

By Nicholas D.
Kristof

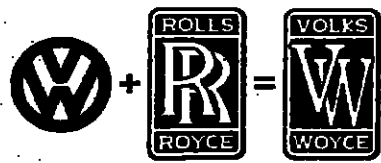


Bigger Business

Deploping the merger fad (and the alternative).

By Peter
Passell

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Irish Debate

Without TV, substance wins out over sound bites.

By Richard L.
Berke

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How to Build a Better Independent Counsel

Tripping Over the Ghosts of Watergate

By NEIL A. LEWIS

IN a little more than a year, the law that authorized the appointment of independent counsels is set to expire, to the delight and relief of the Clinton Administration, many Democrats and a good number of Republicans as well.

If that happens, the five independent prosecutors now investigating current and former Clinton appointees would become the last of their species. And extinction seems like a real possibility: Congress appears to have little appetite for renewing the law.

Republican complaints during the Iran-contra affair about the dangers of an open-ended unaccountable prosecutor have been echoed by Democrats about the Whitewater investigation. And with the White House up for grabs in 2000, either party could be a target again.

But there are some in Washington who, having lived through Watergate, are still haunted by the specter of President Richard M. Nixon firing Archibald Cox, the Watergate special prosecutor. They still believe that an administration cannot fairly investigate itself.

Making It Palatable

So they are designing ways to amend the law to make it palatable enough to win renewal when the Ethics in Government Act, one of the chief post-Watergate reforms, expires on June 30, 1999.

"A number of lawmakers here feel the law is simply unfixable," said Linda Gustitis, a senior staff counsel to Senator Carl Levin, a Michigan Democrat. "Others believe there should be some structure in place but perhaps restricted to really serious cases."

Among those who are committed to renewing the law, albeit with significant changes, are Senator Levin and Representative Jay Dickey, an Arkansas Republican. Both believe the law's critics ignore the problem the law was designed to solve in the first place: The public

may not trust the Justice Department to investigate other officials in the Administration.

"For a long while, I thought people wanted to abolish the law," Mr. Dickey said. "But now I believe they don't. I think people want some form of independent examination of their elected officials."

But concerns about conflicts of interest have been overshadowed by criticism of the tactics of Kenneth W. Starr, the independent counsel whose investigation of the Clintons' Whitewater real estate deal has expanded to the President's sex life.

And the debate about the law intensified last week when Attorney General Janet Reno announced she would use it to seek an independent prosecutor to investigate

allegations of corruption against Labor Secretary Alexis Herman — the seventh independent counsel appointed during the Clinton Administration.

Ms. Herman pronounced herself baffled and angry. To some, Ms. Reno seemed inconsistent in choosing to seek an independent counsel to look into Ms. Herman while she steadfastly resisted doing so for the far broader and more serious allegations about campaign fund raising by the Democrats in 1996. Ms. Reno's aides said she was, in both cases, simply following the precise provisions of the law.

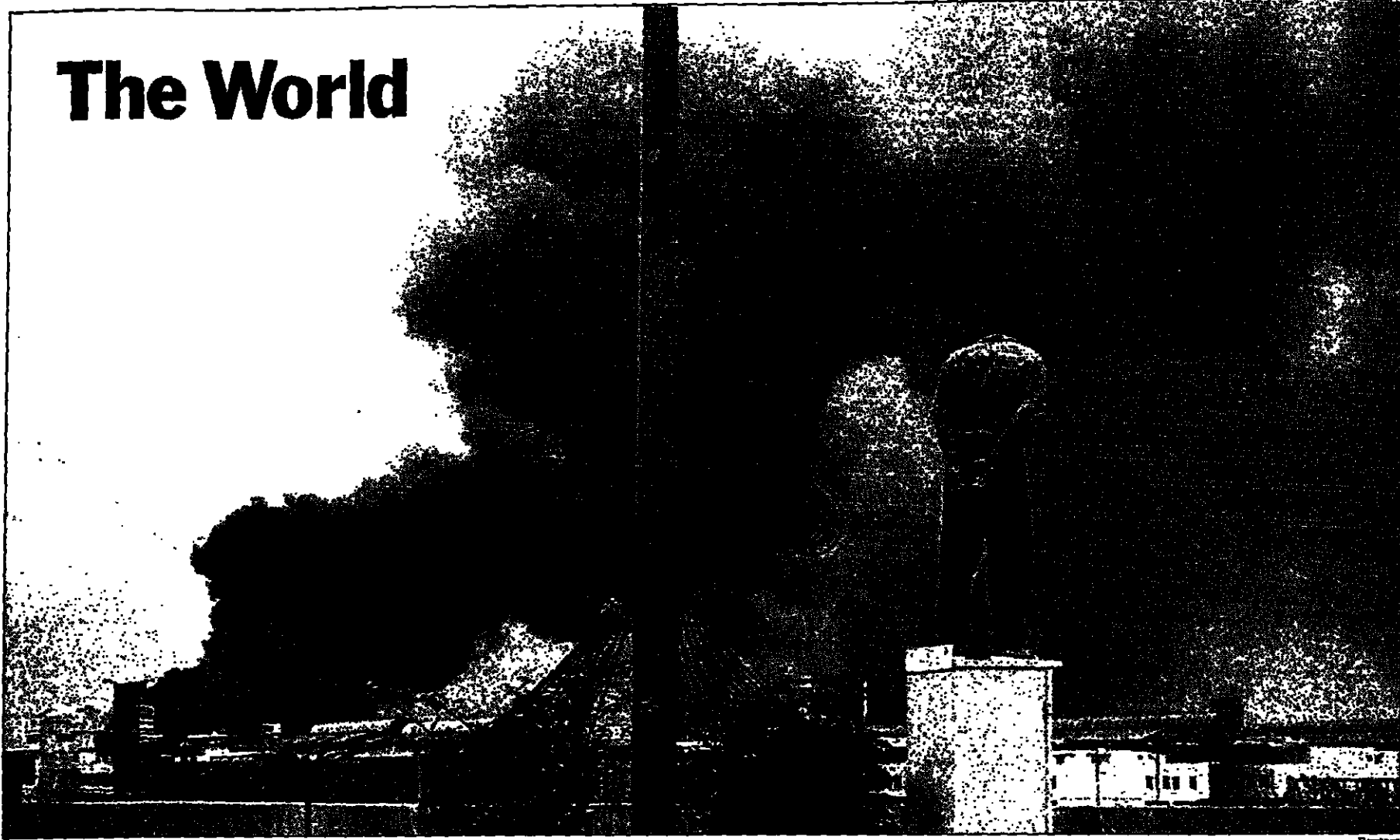
The law provides that when confronted with serious

Continued on Page 12



Kenneth W. Starr, the Whitewater independent counsel, could be among the last of an endangered species.

The World



Jakarta burning: Left, a resident watches as smoke rises from buildings set ablaze in rioting last Thursday. Above, a student protester screams at riot officers. Despite shootings of students, the Indonesian Army last week appeared reluctant to use force.

Indonesia Is Not the Philippines, Yet

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

PRESIDENT SUHARTO himself may have been one of the unintended victims last week when Indonesian troops opened fire on protesting university students here, killing six.

In Asia, killing peasants is often forgiven, if it is noticed at all. But firing on students, who are considered guardians of the national conscience in a region with broad respect for education, is one of those pivotal actions that can haunt a dictatorship for years — maybe even topple it. The reaction to the student deaths in Jakarta on Tuesday was widespread rioting later in the week, leaving some 200 dead, and more people than ever talking about the possibility of a popular revolt against Mr. Suharto.

Could Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous nation, be upended by the kind of "people power" movement that unseated Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines in 1986?

It is now a reasonable question. But overthrowing a determined dictator is more difficult than it looks, and one of the lessons of modern Asian history is that, in the short run at least, guns trump principles.

When Americans think of people power, they tend to recall the Philippines and the unforgettable images of vast throngs of peaceful protesters overthrowing the Marcos regime. But while a few democracy movements in Asia have won out over authoritarian regimes, as in South Korea in the late 1980's or Mongolia in 1990, the more common ending is bloodshed.

Thailand's army massacred pro-democracy protesters in 1976. South Korean troops killed hundreds in crushing a similar student movement in 1980. The same thing happened in Burma in 1988 and at Tiananmen Square in China in 1989. Happy endings have been the exception; the more common conclusion to a student democracy movement has been violence and more

repression.

The people power movement in the Philippines succeeded because of a constellation of factors: a snowballing popular movement that was backed by the Catholic Church and united around a single leader, Corazon Aquino; a population emboldened by the judgment that the Government would not go so far as to massacre its opponents; military leaders who switched sides to back the demonstrators, and strong pressure from the United States to force President Marcos to leave the country peacefully.

A similar constellation may be coming together in Indonesia, but for now the situation is quite different. Most important, the incipient people power movement in Indonesia is short of two things: people and power.

Skittish People, Hesitant Generals

The shortage of people is manifest: the student movement consists of tens of thousands of demonstrators around the country, but not the millions needed to bring the Government to its knees. Young workers and unemployed people managed to paralyze Jakarta on Thursday with their rioting and looting, but they were unorganized, and their occasional thuggery tended to undermine the protest movement's legitimacy along with Mr. Suharto's authority. The more formal anti-Suharto demonstrations consist largely of students. Almost every ordinary Indonesian worker seems sympathetic with the students, but members of the general public have been reluctant to join the demonstrations.

"Who has the courage to stand up now, except the students?" whispered an elderly man near Surabaya, Indonesia's second-largest city. Not him: he started a conversation by saying how much he supported the student protests, but when a reporter asked his name, he hastily decided he had no opinion about the demonstrations and nothing further to say.

In short, Indonesians are more scared of their Government than Filipinos were of theirs. Indonesia still is

haunted by the brutal political repression that began in the fall of 1965 and ended with some 500,000 deaths — and Mr. Suharto firmly in power.

As for power — the other ingredient of people power — it lies most obviously not in the hands of the demonstrators but in the weaponry of the 400,000-strong armed forces. It is romantic to think of ordinary citizens overthrowing a dictator, but whether that is possible usually depends on the stance of the army. In the Philippines, for example, people power succeeded only because two top military leaders, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and the Army Chief of Staff, Fidel Ramos, betrayed Mr. Marcos and backed the people.

In the same way, it may well be the generals who ultimately decide the course of Indonesia. If the commanders want to move Mr. Suharto aside, then they can probably do so. And if they want to suppress the student movement, they can probably do that, too.

Uti Mutiawati, a 23-year-old woman who is studying economics in Surabaya, seemed a fairly typical student. In a conversation before the latest killings, she said she supports the demonstrations, but when asked whether a harsh crackdown would drive her to action or intimidate her into silence, she scarcely paused.

"I'd be more scared than ever," she said. "I'd be quiet."

In Indonesia, the Army is still sitting on the fence. The shooting of the students in Jakarta on Tuesday was the exception, and army leaders like Defense Minister Wiranto appear reluctant to use force to suppress a national student movement that has popular support. The generals seem torn between their close personal ties to Mr. Suharto, who appointed them in large part because of their loyalty to him, and their aspirations to create a modern professional army and not just a praetorian guard. Ironically, the Indonesian Army's last massacre of protesters — in East Timor in 1991 — so embarrassed the generals that it may reduce the likelihood of bloodshed today.

Mr. Suharto, who is 76, last week dropped hints that

he might consider resigning, but he is a wily politician and nobody is counting him out. The United States Government seems disgusted with him but for now is not quite ready to try to heave him into retirement. And in any case, Mr. Suharto might well heed the advice of his dukun, or traditional Javanese spiritual healer, more than that of President Clinton.

That leaves the main show these days on the streets of the cities, where the university students are consciously modeling their movement on the Philippine and South Korean democracy campaigns and trying to create a mass movement.

Appeal for Support

"We realize that for change to take place, we need support from people outside the universities," said Yus Santos, a 25-year-old student leader at Airlangga University in Surabaya. "So we're sending representatives out to various sectors of the population: women's groups, rickshaw drivers, factory workers, and so on. In the end, this movement isn't going to work if it originates only from the campuses."

There are many possible scenarios: a successful revolution, a harsh crackdown, a military government, a long stalemate, simply national chaos and confusion. That would be the least likely scenario of all, but also the most dreadful, worse even than the Chinese or Burmese kind of repression following student movements in those countries. The Indonesian upheavals during the last political transition left so many hundreds of thousands of people dead, the economy so wrecked and the nation so scarred that for decades it accepted Mr. Suharto's autocracy and growing family wealth as the price of national stability.

These days, Mr. Suharto is so vilified that it would be difficult to imagine Indonesians remembering him fondly. But if the nation falls apart along with his rule, it is not impossible that there will be some nostalgia for his corrupt dictatorship.

Pitching Peace

Imagine Politics Without TV. Now Think About Ireland.

By RICHARD L. BERKE

BALLYBOGEY, Northern Ireland: Opponents of the peace accord that will be put to referendum here and in the Republic of Ireland on Friday were looking for the perfect 30-second television commercial to make their point, they need not go farther than the 1988 Presidential campaign in the United States. Their model could be the infamous Willie Horton commercial declaring that Michael S. Dukakis, as Governor of Massachusetts, let a murderer go free on a weekend pass.

The spot could open with the menacing face of a guerrilla for the Irish Republican Army. Cut to grisly photographs of a victim. The announcer then warns viewers that under the agreement the same terrorist would be let out of prison early — and his mentor could be elected to a new governmental body.

The tag line: "Do you want terrorists running your schools? Your hospitals? Vote no on May 22."

A Case Study

But neither this nor any other commercial will pitch the virtues or the dangers of the peace agreement. Although the referendum is widely viewed as the most important election in Northern Ireland's history, laws here and in Ireland have inhibited both sides from using paid television in this campaign.

As a result, the referendum presents something of a case study for the United States, where campaigns are waged over who can cram the best zingers into 30-second sound bites — and where the scramble to bombard the airwaves with costly

commercial is blamed for transforming the entire political culture into a money-grubbing enterprise. Can a campaign really be a campaign without television commercials?

Here at least, the result seems to be a relatively peaceful, though not always civil, campaign where — of all things — proponents do not respond to their foes' television commercials but to each other.

Technically, parties are allowed to buy commercial time, but proponents decided not to do so this time for fear

There aren't any attack ads, so voters focus more on substance than sound bites.

that courts would rule that out of fairness, smaller, financially strapped opposition parties would be granted equal time.

As a result, provisions of the complicated peace treaty are not flashed on the screen, distorted beyond recognition. Instead of television, both sides make their pitches on billboards, posters and in leaflets. They buy full-page advertisements in newspapers.

While the rhetoric can still be brutal, it is more difficult for politicians here to play on voters' emotions with black-and-white newspaper advertisements. And rather than battle through 30-second attack ads, politicians are forced to make their cases

in debates and call-in shows on television and the radio.

"What's always struck me about political ads in the states is the high degree of knocking about," said David Lyle, chief executive of the Belfast office of McCann-Erickson, the advertising agency that designed the only paid political commercials on the air here: ones in which the Government informs people about the referendum but does not advocate a yes or no vote.

Mr. Lyle said the best way for politicians to sway voters here was through televised debates.

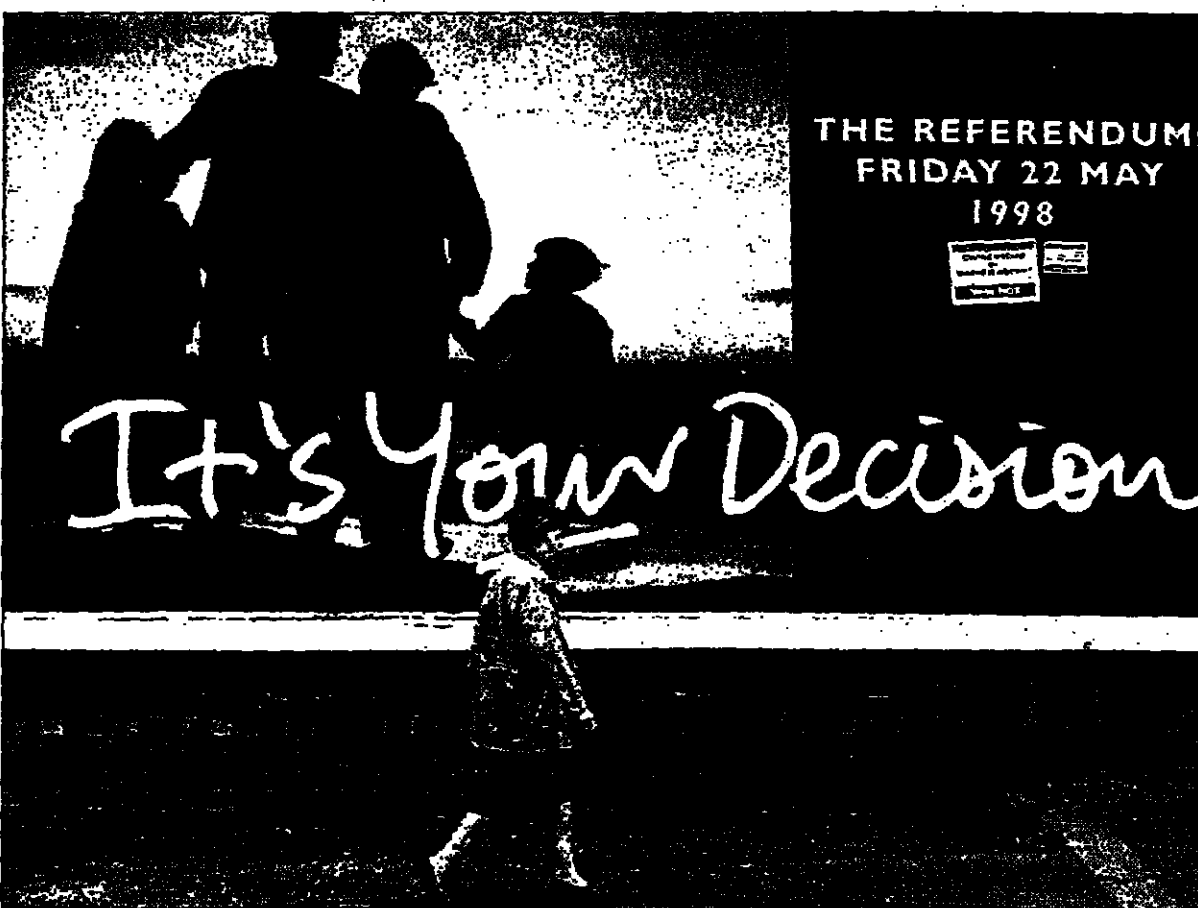
Aversion to TV

Though it is hardly quaint, the process is certainly different from the brand of jarring commercials that voters in California have been subjected to for months in advance of the primary there in June.

There is such an aversion to political commercials here that the British Government shelved plans to escalate its informational television campaign about the referendum out of fear that it would come off as a sneaky effort to win support for it.

In a confidential strategy memorandum leaked to the press in Belfast, Tom Kelly, communications director of the Northern Ireland Office of the British Government, explained the risks of mounting such an effort. "Serious consideration needs to be given to the timing and content of any message," Mr. Kelly wrote, "because it could be seen as 'big government' imposing its view — which would be entirely counterproductive."

Stanley Greenberg, a Democratic pollster in Washington who has done a lot of campaign work overseas, said paid advertising could never succeed



Without access to television ads, proponents and critics of the peace treaty are making their pitches elsewhere.

here because the issue — the fate of a nation — is far more consequential than matters on ballots in the United States.

"With so much loss of life that has intruded into so many families," he said, "there is a demand for a more serious public debate. Cheap 30-second ads would almost be insulting."

Yet the downside to the absence of paid television ads is that it may be harder to engage voters who have been disappointed before and may suspect that genuine peace will never come. Apathy has been a major concern of the referendum's supporters in Ireland, who fear that low turnout in the voting on Friday could cloud the long-term prospects for peace.

Viewers can watch television here

for hours, free of any fears that their viewing pleasure will be intruded upon — some would say polluted — by political pitches.

Without television to help them break through, sometimes parties get desperate. In Ireland, one campaign poster features a naked woman and man in a compromising position, with the slogan: "Yes Yes Yes. Passion for Europe."

The Apathy Factor

The party that produced the placard was seeking to draw interest to a treaty that will also go before the voters Friday, calling for further economic cooperation with Europe. But while the steamy scene may be stop-

ping traffic in downtown Dublin, there is no evidence that it has boosted support for the treaty.

Even up here in this tiny stretch of pasture land near the northern tip of Northern Ireland, some voters, blissfully unaware of the advertising deluge to which American voters are subjected, fret about the interminable political debates over the peace agreement. "I get fed up looking at it," said Sandra Carrothers, who works at a convenience store here. "I turn the TV off."

For Ms. Carrothers, thankfully, the attack spot has not invaded Ballybovey. For Americans, the lesson may be that somewhere, there are politicians who speak in more than 30-second sound bites.

The World

From Guru to Rogue: America Re-Examines India

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH remembers India as a nation that "stood apart and above the conflicts of the world," scorned arms races and alliances. "That was very much the tradition of Gandhi and Nehru," he said last week, as the United States imposed sanctions after five nuclear explosions shook the Thar desert of Rajasthan — and Mr. Galbraith's faith in a country where he was ambassador more than 30 years ago. "There was a strong feeling here that they took a position that was related to the survival of us all. That's why India was sought out so much."

Half a century ago, India loomed large in the consciousness of intellectual America. But long before last week's blasts forced Americans to think about this huge nation again, it had retreated into the background, its relations with Americans and their Government thinned and strained by decades of disagreement interspersed with neglect.

India has long been defined in America by stereotypes, said Joseph Schwartzberg, a cultural and economic geographer at the University of Minnesota. "The image that Americans have of India is essentially that peddled by the National Geographic," he said — a land of colorful vistas and people washed by a haze of mysticism.

A Spiritual Vision

When a vision of India first formed in the American consciousness, it was a cerebral, spiritual, inspirational one. The Hindu reformer Vivekananda made a strong impression in intellectual circles on a visit to the United States in the 19th century. Mohandas K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were figures of great respect as they brought a mighty nation and old civilization to the brink of independence without violence in the 1930's and 1940's. (The carnage, between Hindus and Muslims, came later.)

"A great deal of the image of India in the 1940's came to an extraordinary degree from church groups, specifically the pacifist, socialist Christians," said Ansie Embree, who went to India in 1948 as a college teacher and later became a leading scholar at Columbia University and a writer on Indian cultural history. "It was also an image of a people fighting the British the way we fought the British." The thought, he added, captivated Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom Indians still remember as a supporter of their independence in the face of British reluctance.

Americans soon took to India for other reasons, Mr. Embree said. Some strategic thinkers saw India, a democracy, as a partner against Communist China. And aid experts flocked to Indian villages, deter-



When Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson visited Nehru in 1961, Americans took inspiration from India's nonviolent tradition.

mined to elevate these poor, plucky people. Mr. Embree regards many of them as patronizing, hungering for gratitude that proud Indians would never give.

Mythologies soon formed around India and its role, some fostered by New Delhi's own sense of self-importance and others by Americans who fell uncritically in love with all things Indian. In retrospect, American and Indian experts say, those Americans

were quite small in number; after a time their influence would fade.

Arthur Lall, who was India's representative at the United Nations in the 1950's, while the acerbic cabinet minister V. K. Krishna Menon was routinely castigating the United States, said he believed there never was as much interest in India or knowledge about it as Americans like to think. Which made neglect of India easier.

The cold war — during which Americans thought India was too friendly to Moscow and Indians felt America was too close to Pakistan — put a chill on Indian-American relations among scholars as well as officials, said Sumit Ganguly, a professor of political science at the City University of New York. Indian suspicions contributed to the alienation at a time when intellectual America was drawn to other causes in Southeast Asia

and then Central America.

"The culminating blow that led to a decline in American interest in India was the Indians' fault," Mr. Ganguly said. "When Nehru was there, India's nonalignment at least had some meaning. When Nehru was gone, non-alignment took on an Alice in Wonderland quality under Indira Gandhi." After 1971, when the United States sent the aircraft carrier Enterprise into the Bay of Bengal as Indian troops moved into East Pakistan to

Years ago, it didn't take a bomb to make the U.S. pay attention.

create Bangladesh, "She got it into her head that lurking behind every bush in Lodi Gardens was an American agent," he said.

"Legitimate scholars were hounded by the Indian bureaucracy," Mr. Ganguly said. "Visas were denied, often on the most tenuous grounds. American scholars — who were the biggest supporters of India, who were passionate about India and who found ways to defend Indians' actions, saying that they have a different vision of world order, they really don't mean us any harm, we have to understand the colonial legacy that makes them sensitive, and so on — were the constituency most alienated. We lost a generation of American scholarship."

A Way to Get Noticed

After the cold war, say Mr. Embree and Stephen P. Cohen of the University of Illinois, American policy makers did not draw on the considerable scholarship that remained on American campuses and in research institutes to formulate new policies toward India. "The Indians were confused by our inability to come to a coherent policy," said Mr. Cohen. "One-third of the Clinton Administration saw India in terms of arms control, one third saw it as an economic opportunity and one third or less saw it as a possible strategic partner or player. There was no policy review, no attempt to bring all this together."

A new Indian Government took stock of this and concluded it needed to do something to get attention, said Mr. Cohen, who recently traveled to the subcontinent. "The group that's come to power believe strongly that they aren't going to get anywhere by being good boys. They've been very acute to our response to North Korea and the Chinese. We're looking for rogues and they are volunteering to be the rogue of the decade."

Everybody Knew. Now They Care.

Out of the Nuclear Closet

By STEVEN ERLANGER

PROUDLY ripping off a veil last week, India removed the artificial ambiguity from what the world already knew — that it could produce and deploy nuclear weapons. But if everyone already knew, why all the fuss?

The answers lie in the particular roles that fear and hypocrisy play in international relations.

While countries, like people, may plan quietly for what they fear, they must plan publicly for what they can no longer pretend not to know. And that makes a big difference in the pressure for an arms race.

Few Governments, for example, credited India's 1974 promises, when it first tested a nuclear device, that its program was only for peaceful purposes. But now no country can afford to doubt India's intention to build a nuclear arsenal.

"India's tests matter because every public act of nuclear danger generates a chain reaction of public acts by others," said Michael Krepon, president of the Henry L. Stimson Center, which studies security. "Every veil removed from nuclear weaponry creates new military requirements, and when they are generated in one country, they are generated in neighboring countries."

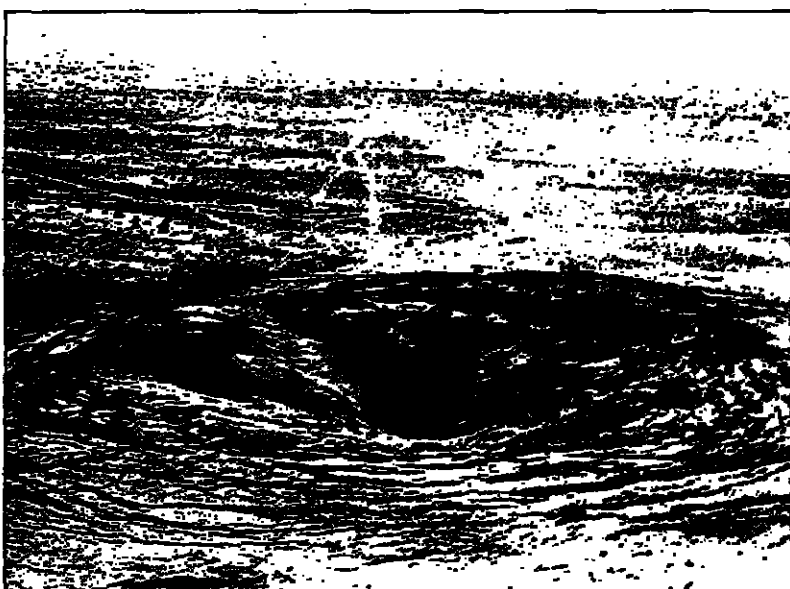
Joseph Cirincione, director of the Nonproliferation Project at the Carnegie Endowment, is nearly distraught that India is shredding the global nonproliferation regime, which was designed to freeze the technology of nuclear weapons.

"This is really the difference between containing a problem and having it spin out of control," he said. "With India's test, the nonproliferation regime we've built for the last 35 years hit an iceberg."

Fear Yields Pressure

The main stimulus comes from pressure for vulnerable countries to respond in kind. "You increase the threat, which increases fear, which increases the threat that other people will act on those fears," Mr. Cirincione said.

Officials in Washington are desperately trying to persuade Paki-



India's first atomic bomb test, in 1974, left a hole in the Rajasthan desert.

stan to reap the diplomatic and global benefits of restraint. But few officials think Pakistan's Government will be able to resist public pressure to test. A test would mean that weaker, smaller Pakistan will also be hit with American sanctions that would seriously hurt its economy and could destabilize the state.

The competition among India, Pakistan and China has entered a new and dangerous stage, Mr. Krepon said. Nuclear tests create a set of new military requirements, from better satellite and radar networks to intensified missile development. And those programs, notes Henry Sokolski, a former Pentagon official in the Bush Administration who is now with the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center, draw scarce money in poor countries.

Mr. Cirincione says "the whole region is a nuclear powder keg, and India just lit the fuse." The arc of responses runs from China to Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Israel and Egypt. "All those countries are connected," he said. "They all have, want to have or have thought about having nuclear weapons programs."

In a Senate hearing on Wednesday, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen was explicit. "There will be other countries that see this as an open invitation to try to acquire this technology," he said. "We have a real

proliferation problem that's taking place globally. This is only going to contribute to that."

India's test had an impact on American politics, too, with Republican senators citing it as they pushed a bill mandating a nationwide missile defense. Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina even referred to India as "an emerging nuclear threat to the territory of the United States."

The Senators, citing the unreliability of international treaties in restraining other countries, emphasized the need for America to depend solely on its own weapons for national security. That is an exact echo of the argument cited by India's ruling Bharatiya Janata Party when it went ahead with these tests, Mr. Cirincione noted.

The hope seems to be that a vigorous global response will shake India from its fever before contagion spreads.

"This act of strategic defiance is not the real India, and it won't last," Mr. Krepon said. "They'll get hammered diplomatically and economically. It is so contrary to Indian self-interest that it cannot be sustained over time."

Mr. Sokolski said: "This is not India's proudest moment. It was better off with Gandhi and the peace stuff."

Choosing to Ride the Tiger On a Pariah's Path to Glory

Continued From Page 9

much as \$100 million for every missile deployed. "I told him, that kind of money would buy a lot of clinics and schools," Mr. Wisner said.

But with opinion polls showing support for the tests running at more than 90 percent and almost equal numbers urging the Government to move quickly to deploy nuclear warheads, millions of Indians seemed to feel that it was the United States, not India, that had unlinked itself from reality. What was missing from President Clinton's statements, these Indians said, was any sense of the tough neighborhood in which India lives, and any appreciation of how the absence of collective security arrangements mitigates against India settling for a non-nuclear defense. They drew a pointed contrast between India's sense of isolation and insecurity, and the American nuclear umbrella that protects Japan, Western Europe and many of the other countries that lined up against India's tests.

Disputes With China

When they worry about their region, most Indians think first not of Pakistan, with which three wars were fought, but of China, which seized 11,500 square miles of disputed Himalayan terrain from India in a 1962 border war, and has refused to even discuss relinquishing it. Decades later, still larger swaths of India's Himalayan regions remain in dispute, and China has deployed hundreds of nuclear missiles, some targeted on India, without any recent American leader accusing it of threatening India.

In the think-tanks of New Delhi, due weight is given to the American concern about curbing expansion of the world's "nuclear club." Indian strategists know about Muammar el-Qaddafi and Saddam Hussein, and the nightmare world they represent. But they reject as insulting any equation between such rogue states and India — a country that has been a stable democracy, as Mr. Clinton noted, and that also has other assets that might qualify it to be a responsible nuclear power, including armed forces that have never challenged civilian rule.

It is here that the heart of the dispute lies. Mr. Wisner spent much of his three years as ambassador here in a failed effort to persuade the Indians to sign the nuclear test ban treaty that was left in tatters by last week's tests. After one exhausting session with Prime Minister H. D. Deve Gowda in 1996, he concluded that India's determination no longer to be treated as "a boy in short pants" was what was making agreement impossible.

The fact that the case for restraint has been made mainly by the world's richest, most powerful and most heavily armed nuclear state only complicates matters. Like many countries, India has long harbored contradictory attitudes toward the United States, seeing it as a connoisseur of much that Indians would like to have for their own country, but also as a brash, overconfident nation that has disregarded India except as a sort of theme park of affliction and spirituality. In the 1950's, it was partly these feelings

of injured dignity that propelled India into a strategic embrace with the Soviet Union.

Some Indians say wryly that America wants India to be a better country than India has ever wanted to be, or has been capable of being; in this, they say, Americans may have been too deeply influenced by the most powerful of all images of India in the past 20 years, Richard Attenborough's film "Gandhi," with its images of his stringent asceticism — a burden most Indians feel disinclined to carry.

But for all of India's accumulated frustrations, it is a fact that every previous Government since 1974, the year of India's first nuclear test, opted not to cross the threshold that would make it a declared nuclear power. The change resulted directly from another seismic event, the accession to power in March of Mr. Vajpayee and the Hindu nationalists of the Bharatiya Janata Party. Although Mr. Vajpayee and others in the Government have disassociated themselves from it, it is another fact that they belong to a movement that once nurtured the nationalist fanatic, Nathuram Godse, who assassinated Gandhi.

However Mr. Vajpayee may now justify the tests as a strategic necessity for India, the suspicion lingers that they were ordered as part of a larger plan, one at the heart of the Hindu nationalist design for decades, one that goes beyond the shared concern among Indians that their country be safe from attack by Pakistan or China. This design, for an assertive, chauvinistic

To nationalist leaders, the 1947 partition that created Pakistan still rankles.

India, rooted in an exclusivist version of Hindu culture, was developed into an ideology in the 1930's, and was deeply influenced by the rise of German fascism.

At its most extreme, Hindu nationalism poses as its ideal what is known as "Akhund Bharat," or old India, and is expressed by maps hanging in the offices of extreme right-wing nationalist groups. These show India stretching from Afghanistan's northern frontier all the way to Burma.

Realistically, Hindu nationalists today know that this romantic India, harking back to the period before the first Muslim invasions 1,000 years ago and beyond, to a time of Hindu legends, is gone forever. But even the more moderate nationalists still speak as if they are not reconciled to the most recent territorial loss: the 1947 partition that created Pakistan.

Since Mr. Vajpayee took office in March, he has gone out of his way to speak of the need for reconciliation with Pakistan. But in this, as in much else, there are Indians, as well as Pakistanis, who wonder whether the mild-mannered Mr. Vajpayee is the authentic voice of a movement, or, as one of his aides put it during the election campaign, only its most acceptable "mask."

The Nation

When Mega-Mergers Are Mega-Busts

By PETER PASSELL

MARRY reliable old Daimler-Benz with go-go Chrysler? The union is bound to yield better cars. How about SBC and Ameritech, the telecommunications giants? Streamlining their front offices and linking all those zillions of phone cables into one awesome network ought to save billions. With industrial regulation out of fashion, even the largest mergers are greeted sanguinely by the stock market — and Washington. Last week the House passed a bill that would end Depression-era controls on banking, opening financial industries to new mega-mergers. Populist fears of industrial concentration have faded, replaced by the conviction that the globalization of markets and the speed of technological change has tied efficiency to size. Bigness is no longer a threat to consumers, the thinking goes, but the salvation of affluent economies struggling to stay ahead of the pack.

But just when you've learned to stop worrying and

Fear of monopolies is as passé as the jitterbug, but new concerns are emerging.

love Consolidated Amalgamated Technotronics, economists are putting another spin on the conventional wisdom: Many now doubt that huge mergers will increase productivity. Indeed, most of the hard evidence from past mergers, along with the anecdotal evidence from the current wave, suggests that mergers do as much harm as good. Mergers, it seems, are too often the progeny of executive megalomania and deal makers' dreams of year-end bonuses.

Still, few counsel a more aggressive anti-merger policy that tries to second-guess the outcome of the behemoth couplings. Economists and regulators no longer fear unchecked corporate power, the concern that drove antitrust policy for the first half of the century. In the last few decades, the politically acceptable grounds for blocking mergers have narrowed considerably.

"Conglomerate mergers between companies in different businesses are now acceptable, as are vertical mergers between suppliers and producers in the same industry. Only horizontal mergers between competitors and potential competitors are likely to be challenged,

and only when they concentrate the market enough to restrict output and raise prices.

By this standard, DaimlerChrysler raises little concern because its combined share of the world auto market would be modest. And mergers that link regional companies — BankAmerica-NationsBank, SBC-Ameritech, Bell Atlantic-Nynex — are acceptable because they don't reduce competition in local markets. Even where there is risk of monopoly, the Justice Department's guidelines permit mergers that generate substantial operating efficiencies.

"A merger has to be flat-out anticompetitive to attract the attention of the antitrust division," concludes F. M. Scherer, an economist at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

Executive Ego

But just because most big mergers are legal doesn't mean they are good for the economy. The bulk of the evidence from the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's suggests that mergers are more closely linked to *fad* — not to mention the boss's ego — than they are to cost savings or marketing synergies.

While stockholders in acquired (typically smaller) companies usually do quite well in mergers, owners of the acquiring companies rarely do. A 1997 survey by Dennis Mueller, an economist at the University of Vienna, showed that the acquiring companies typically had better-than-average returns on capital before mergers and worse-than-average ones afterward. Highly profitable companies, it seems, can't resist the urge to buy other companies with their accumulated cash rather than let the stockholders get the proceeds.

Research by Michael Porter of the Harvard Business School echoes these findings. His study of acquisitions by 33 large, successful corporations from 1950 to 1986 found that over half the acquired companies were sold off or liquidated within a decade. General Mills, for example, sold three-quarters of the 86 new businesses it had bought. Even General Electric, considered the best-managed diversified enterprise on the planet, scrapped 63 percent of its 51 acquisitions.

Mr. Porter's research focuses on conglomerate mergers rather than acquisitions by companies that already have an understanding of the industry they are entering. Moreover, the fact that mergers don't last doesn't prove they all failed; in some cases acquired companies may have been sold at a considerable profit.

Perhaps the current wave of couplings between companies in related businesses will prove more productive, but that is by no means certain. While it is too soon to assay the impact of the dozens of giga-mergers of the last

Recent Combinations

Selected recent mergers.

DATE	ACQUIRER	ACQUIRED	PRICE
April 6, 1998*	TheTravelers	CITICORP	\$70 billion
May 11, 1998*	SBC	Ameritech	\$62
April 13, 1998*	BankAmerica	NationsBank	\$60
May 6, 1998*	Daimler-Benz	Chrysler	\$39
April 27, 1998*	WORLD COM	MCI	\$37
August 1997	BOEING	MCDONNELL DOUGLAS	\$16
May 7, 1998*	Volkswagen	R	\$710 million
			*Pending.

The New York Times

few years, horror stories are dribbling out.

Wells Fargo choked on its acquisition of the First Interstate Bancorp in 1996. Records were lost, customers were forced to put up with long lines and tens of thousands of account holders left for more efficient banks. Adding to the confusion, three-quarters of First Interstate's top and middle managers were encouraged or allowed to leave in the first year.

A.T.&T. bought NCR for \$7 billion in 1991 and then invested billions more in the electronics company with the aim of taking the computer industry by storm. Four years later A.T.&T. spun off NCR and the market valued the stock at a humiliating \$3 billion.

Big Duds

Quaker Oats did even worse with Snapple, buying the New Age brand for \$1.7 billion in 1994 and selling it last year for \$300 million. Novell, the networking software giant, acquired WordPerfect for \$885 million in 1994. Two years later it dumped the second largest maker of word-processing software for just \$115 million.

Japanese consumer electronics companies lost huge amounts in Hollywood in the 1980's. Matsushita lost billions on MCA-Universal before Seagram took the ailing studio off its hands. Sony has hung onto the wreckage of Columbia Pictures but has been forced to

write off most of its investment.

Arguably, though, the most spectacular merger fiasco of modern times is still playing out. In 1995 the Union Pacific Railroad agreed to swallow the Southern Pacific. And a year later, over the objections of shippers who worried that the consolidation of routes would give the railroad the power to raise rates, Washington approved the merger.

But far from improving service, the new railroad quickly descended into chaos. Union Pacific's by-the-book corporate culture clashed badly with Southern Pacific's, where managers had long been accustomed to making do with chewing gum and baling wire. Meanwhile the two carriers' information systems proved as compatible as Sonny and Cher.

The railroad had three fatal accidents in its first seven months. Shipments piled up at bottlenecks, particularly along the Mexican border. And tens of billions of dollars worth of freight has been delayed or simply denied access to the rails.

For all their skepticism about merger mania, it is still hard to find an economist inclined to put up roadblocks. The unique strength of American-style capitalism, the argument goes, has always been the freedom of businesses to mix and match assets. And the only compelling reason to interfere is to prevent the growth of old-fashioned monopoly power.

Corporate America Plays Scrabble

Name That Behemoth

By EDWARD WYATT

IT is wedding season on Wall Street, and the most vexing issue faced by titans of industry as they prepare to tie the corporate knot is the same one pondered by a modern bride-to-be: Should she take his name? Keep her own? Hyphenate?

So far, the uninspiring names adopted to symbolize the unions created by the latest megabillion-dollar mergers show it isn't an easy decision: SBC-Ameritech, DaimlerChrysler and Citicorp.

"There are a lot of real stinkers out there," said John Young of Blackburn Young in Westport, Conn., one of dozens of name consultants that charge tens of thousands of dollars to help companies with identity crises. "Sometimes a C.E.O.'s wife or daughter suggests a name and the C.E.O. decides to run with it. That's a factor that accounts for a lot of the bad ones."

Nonetheless, he added, "It probably is one of the most difficult services we provide because there has been tremendous explosion of names for companies, products and serv-



ices all around the world."

Whether or not it rolls off the tongue, experts say a new name must have what name consultants call "multilingual suitability," meaning that it does not translate into offensive slang wherever the company might do business. For trademark purposes, it must not already be in use in other countries.

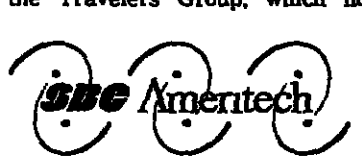
Naming a newly merged company can be as contentious a part of the negotiations as which executives get to run the show or where the headquarters will be located. "Sometimes, a name is a negotiating tool — who gets to keep their name or who gets first billing," said Steve Rivkin of Rivkin & Associates, a name consultant based in Glen Rock, N.J.

In the 1980's, when most of the high-profile takeovers were hostile, the names of acquired companies often became road kill. In the latest round of mergers, everyone seems to



be trying for a more friendly, merger-of-equals tone. Daimler-Benz, the German auto maker, wanted so badly to portray its merger with Chrysler as a marriage of equals that it simply eliminated the space between the two company names.

At one time, a corporate name was intended to convey what the company did. But no longer. When Ameritech Can expanded into everything from mortgage banking to specialty retailing in the 80's, for example, and then sold off its packaging business and the rights to the name, it re-named itself Primerica. Apparently the morphing isn't finished; several years ago, Primerica merged with the Travelers Group, which now



wants to merge with Citicorp. The union will be called Citicorp.

Southwestern Bell, one of the eight Baby Bells created by the breakup of AT&T, was an easily identifiable name in Texas and other areas of service. But after the company began offering cellular phone service and expanding into other regions, executives decided they didn't want its new customers to think of it as a regional bumpkin. So in 1994, after two years of study and nearly \$1 million in costs to search for a new name, the company took an alphabet-soup approach and changed its name to SBC Communications.

Now SBC will be joined by a hyphen with Ameritech, whose name reflects another recent corporate fad: computer-generated names. This technique involves the use of computers by name consultants to generate thousands of permutations of joined names, made up of roots that are supposed to evoke images of the company's products and services, in the hopes of finding a combination of building blocks that is both pleasing and applicable.

Some companies prefer a name-by-numbers approach. The number 3 seems to be a favorite: witness

3Com, 3DO and 360 Communications. Others go with initials, which Mr. Rivkin calls "a ticket to oblivion." Who can figure out what services are provided by SNET (telecommunications), IBP (meat processing) or DQE (electric power)?

One peculiar fad — particularly for companies that want to be seen as alive and modern — is the use of dead languages to give corporate

names a classic flavor. Executives, often decried as out of touch with their real-world customers, seem to forget that many students struggled with Latin. When the Woolworth Corporation closed its five-and-dime stores to shift its focus to sporting goods, it decided to call itself the Venzor Group — Latin for hunter.

Roger N. Farah, Woolworth's chairman, said the new name "positions" the company as a high-performance merchandiser that is invigorated and inspired by the ever-changing marketplace as it strives to win the global retail game."

Similarly, when Grand Metropolitan, the parent of Burger King, merged with the Irish brewer Guinness, the new company chose the less-than-melodious name Diageo, derived from the Latin word for day and the Greek word for world.

Today's corporate renamers would do well to recall one of the most disastrous name changes in the annals of business: Allegis, the name chosen in 1987 by UAL Inc., the parent company of United Airlines, Westin Hotels and Hertz rental cars.

Introduced at a time when shareholders were upset over UAL's lack of financial progress and when the unions were battling management, the name stuck for about six weeks before the company's board ousted both chairman and name, and set about breaking up the company. Sort of a corporate amendment.



Tripping Over Ghosts Of Watergate Scandal

Continued From Page 9

allegations against fellow Administration officials, the Attorney General must ask a three-judge Federal court to choose a prosecutor outside the Department.

One model for what could happen if the law expires is the current campaign finance investigation prompted in large part by allegations that donations from China and other foreign countries, which are illegal, were accepted by the Democratic Party. After Mr. Reno declined to seek the appointment of an independent prosecutor, the investigation has been left within the Justice Department.

But so far that inquiry has only demonstrated the principal flaw in having the Department investigate the Administration; there are legions of critics and skeptics who question whether Department officials have pulled their punches because the investigation involves senior Democratic officials from the President on down.

Another model is to have the Attorney General choose a special prosecutor from outside the Justice Department, presumably someone with a reputation for rectitude. That is how Mr. Cox came to be the first Watergate prosecutor.

Clinton aides may bristle at any linking of Watergate and Whitewater. But the two scandals may serve together as history's bookends for the independent prosecutor law: Watergate made it necessary and Whitewater may unmake it.

The Clinton Administration has sharply revised its opinion about the law. William P. Barr, the Attorney General under President George Bush, recently recalled that during the Clinton transition he urged Bernard W. Nussbaum, the incoming White House counsel to oppose renewal of the law. He said Mr. Nussbaum told him, "We have higher standards." He pushed for renewal.

Four years later, Mr. Nussbaum found himself under investigation by an independent counsel looking into whether he lied to Congress about the hiring of a security aide at the White House.

A senior White House lawyer involved in Whitewater said last week that he hoped to be around to "preside at the burial of the independent counsel law."

Any consideration of the law in the Senate would be handled by the Governmental Affairs Committee headed by Senator Fred S. Thompson, a Tennessee Republican. Senior staff aides to Mr. Thompson said he was "still wondering if the law is salvageable."

Here are some of the changes in the law that are being debated:

Make It a Full-time Job

This is by no means the most important recommendation, but it has the widest support. Critics and supporters of the law alike have criticized Mr. Starr for maintaining his \$1 million-a-year law practice while he investigates the President.

Mr. Cox, the Watergate prosecutor, has said he thinks the fact that Mr. Starr has retained his private law clients is deplorable.

Apply It to Fewer Officials

The Attorney General must seek an independent counsel if there is specific and credible evidence of a crime committed by one of several dozen officials specified in the current law. These range from the

President to the chairmen of the national political parties.

Several proposals would limit the scope to the President, the Vice President and perhaps the heads of the four most important Cabinet departments — Treasury, State, Defense and Justice.

Limit the Duration and Budget

Representative Dickey has proposed a limit of two years. After that, the prosecutor would have to ask Congress for an extension and an additional appropriation.

This effort to speed up the process is aimed at eliminating the public impatience that became an ingredient of both the Iran-contra investigation led by Lawrence E. Walsh and Mr. Starr's Whitewater investigation.

But as Mr. Dickey acknowledges, this would create its own problems, the most important of which is that it could encourage efforts to impede or delay an investigation. Mr. Starr has said his investigation has been slowed by the Clinton Administration's efforts to invoke executive privilege, attorney-client privilege and even a new privilege that would block Secret Service agents from testifying.

Mr. Walsh recently complained that the Central Intelligence Agency had been masterly at hiding documents until the last possible moment, hoping to outlast him.

Apply It Only to Actions Taken During the Term of Office

Senator Levin has argued that an independent counsel should only be authorized to deal with issues involving behavior while in office or at least should go no farther back than the political campaign that launched the administration.

This, of course, would have precluded the Whitewater investigation, which began with questions about a real estate deal in 1976 when Mr. Clinton was Governor of Arkansas.

Bar Expansion of Investigations

Senator Levin has also suggested that investigations should no longer be allowed to expand into unrelated matters. The Whitewater inquiry, for example, branched off into an investigation of the White House travel office and a probe of the propriety of the Clinton Administration's acquisition of Federal Bureau of Investigation files on Republicans.

The problem, of course, is who would handle such matters if they arose.

Give the Attorney General Greater Discretion

The most hotly contested part of the law is the provision that requires the Attorney General to ask for an independent counsel unless he or she can conclusively demonstrate within 90 days that the allegations in question are false.

A negative is always difficult to prove and is especially so under the law: During the 90 days, the Attorney General may not subpoena witnesses or compel testimony.

ECONOMY

More Used Cars Are Going, Going, Gone ... to Auction Lots

By KEITH BRADSHAW

NEAR one edge of 194 acres of asphalt poured across the heart of eastern Pennsylvania's farm country stands a shed as long as two football fields, with a concrete floor and a steel roof. Every Friday, cars and trucks — thousands of them — snake across the parking lots toward the shed, forming two dozen lanes of bumper-to-bumper traffic.

Inside, two dozen auctioneers, each on a yard-high wood platform, bellow prices into microphones at a speed that would leave a race track announcer breathless. Scores of car dealers, mostly men in blue jeans, mill about the cars while signaling bids. Instead of banging a gavel, the auctioneers wave foot-long pieces of inch-thick green plastic telephone cable as each sale is made.

Sotheby's auctions across North America may have sold \$919 million worth of Renaults, oversized diamonds and the like last year, while Christie's was passing title to \$1.07 billion worth of collectibles like Princess Diana's dresses. But that's small change for the Manheim Auto Auction, the nation's largest, which sold \$2.9 billion in vehicles last year — 233,000 cars and trucks.

Mainly because of the explosion in auto leasing, the number and partic-

ularly the value of used cars sold at auctions have grown sharply over the last decade. In 1997, the volume auctioned in the United States and Canada almost equaled the number of new cars sold, according to the National Auto Auction Association. And over the last decade, the value of used cars offered at auction has nearly quintupled, hitting \$70 billion last year. Up to half the vehicles sold on the nation's used-car lots come from auctions.

And practically everyone who owns a car in the United States is affected. Auctions are the main source of information for the Kelley Blue Book and other price guides, which car dealers consult to determine the value of a trade-in. Banks use the guides in making used-car loans, while state officials use them for property tax assessments. And by providing a highly efficient market, economists say, auctions buttress the resale value of used cars.

So why are these huge auctions so little known? Because dealers and the auction companies prefer it that way. Dealers do not want customers to find out how much they pay for vehicles; most of the nation's 202 auctions are privately held and release few financial details. The Atlanta-based industry leader, Manheim Auctions Inc., a subsidiary of the privately held Cox Enterprises, owns 80 auctions in North America and Britain. The business started



Dealers inspect the goods at the Manheim, Pa. auto auction, the largest in the United States.

with the one here. Manheim sold \$28.4 billion worth of vehicles last year — taking in about \$1 billion in fees — up from \$18.5 billion in 1994. Two smaller chains are units of publicly traded companies: ADT Automotive, owned by Tyco International, and the Adesa Auctions Corporation, a subsidiary of Minnesota Power. More than 100 independent auctions are privately owned.

Here in Manheim, the speed of the auctions is remarkable. Most vehicles are sold in less than a minute, as bidders flash a series of hand gestures and other signals while the auctioneer rattles off prices. With a cry of "Sold, roll it out of here," the car is driven the width of the shed and out the other side. By evening, the local roads are full of huge car carriers.

To a surprising extent, the business is based on trust. Consumer advocates usually advise shoppers to take a used car to a professional mechanic before buying it. But here in Manheim, dealers and their agents commonly bid on cars they have examined for a minute or less. Test drives are allowed before the auction, yet many dealers do not bother.

Lessors, dealers and other sellers are generally expected to fix mechanical problems before bringing used cars to auction; buyers take responsibility for touching up any scratches and fixing any dents. Dealers bring their own mechanics and are allowed an hour after a purchase to make sure a vehicle is in good condition. If a buyer finds a problem that was not disclosed, he and the seller immediately consult one of the auction house's arbitrators, and the sale may be canceled or the price adjusted. In rare cases, the auction buys the disputed vehicle and resells it after disclosing the defect, often at a loss.

Only 6 percent of the sales here go to arbitration. Buyers and sellers alike say the system works for a simple reason: Many dealers have been coming here for decades and constantly compare notes about the quality of the vehicles they buy. A vehicle's seller is identified before the bidding begins. When a seller disposes of even a few defective vehicles, it is widely talked about within weeks, and buyers simply refuse to bid on the seller's cars, or bid low.

"There are certain guys out there, I just will not buy their cars," said Chris Fadigan, a used-car manager in Cherry Hill, N.J., who wore an orange Philadelphia Flyers shirt to the auction here on a recent Friday. "I like to feel secure that when I get it back to the lot, it won't need \$1,000 of work." Eight former police officers, now employed by the auction, check to make sure none of the cars have been stolen.

Regulars, like J. Mark Martin, a used-car trader based in Manheim, check late-model used cars fairly

quickly. (A few older models are sold "as is," and buyers check them more carefully.) Mr. Martin scanned the vehicles approaching the auction lanes and spotted a purple 1995 Nissan pickup. Striding over, he opened the door and looked inside, glanced under the hood, inspected an almost imperceptible dent in the back and examined the chrome of the wheels, all in about a minute.

"The paint all matches — over all, it's in good condition," said Mr. Martin, who buys cars and light trucks here and ships them by train to dealers in 10 Western states. Mr. Martin joined the bidding for the pickup, keeping his eyes locked on the auctioneer and nodding very slightly or winking his right eye each time he raised his bid.

In less than a minute, the pickup was his for \$11,000, plus \$195 in auction fees, and he was making plans to

the bidding and probably result in more disputes over vehicle defects. And because of fears about car theft and break-ins, auctions near big cities try to avoid publicity.

Auction executives say their job is to please large-scale buyers and sellers. "We do not cater to the retail public — they are not our concern, we don't even want them to know about our auctions," said Robert D. Rauschenberg, executive vice president for sales and marketing at Adesa.

Stenciled in big red letters on the glass doors of the entrance here are the words: "No Trespassers; Dealers Only. No Retail Customers Allowed."

The big auto auctions do face a few threats to their long-term prosperity. Some municipalities, including this town of 4,900 people, eight miles northwest of Lancaster, have become fed up with traffic congestion and other problems, and are trying to limit the auctions' growth. Some dealers are trying to bypass the auctions by communicating directly with one another over the Internet. Used-car superstores, meanwhile, try to deal directly with nearby dealers for their trade-ins.

Nevertheless, the auctions keep expanding. They are buying more parking lots in distant towns and have successfully fought taxes by threatening to move elsewhere. They have transferred some of their operations to the Internet. And auctions still supply the bulk of the inventory for used-car superstores.

Top auction executives are confident that no one will figure out a more efficient way to gather up used cars that have been turned in, sort them and send them on to new owners. "We understand that bypass attempts have taken place — we're not worried about it," said G. Dennis Berry, Manheim's president and chief executive.

AUTO auctions are held across the country, but throughout the used-car business, this small Pennsylvania town is the place to be on Fridays. Dealers fly here from all over, often in private planes. "It's the place where everybody can find what they're looking for," said Robert H. Gussack, a wholesaler of used Mercedes vehicles in Massapequa, N.Y., who charts a flight here every week with several new-car dealers on Long Island.

Four local businessmen started the Manheim auction in a barn in 1945. Civilian production of new cars had just resumed after a three-year interruption during World War II, and millions of Americans began selling their used cars. Unlike many auction houses that grew up at the same time, the auction specialized in late-model, high-priced cars with few problems.

Its business has exploded since the late 1980's, as rental cars and then off-lease cars poured into the market in record numbers. The company

said it auctioned an average of 9,195 cars and trucks a week here last year, mostly on Fridays, compared with 1,200 a week in 1986. (Just under half go unsold because the final bid does not meet the seller's minimum.)

While some auctions have tried to lure dealers with liquor or beautiful models, Manheim has prospered by offering a serious, conservative atmosphere. No alcoholic beverages are served and virtually no one brings his own. The auctioneers are almost all gray-haired men.

"If you have a young woman near a car, you're going to have people coming from 20 lanes around," which disrupts the normal flow of business, said M. Gregory Gehman, the general manager of the auction.

"What's more, I'm a Christian, and many of the people here are, and I wouldn't stand for that," he said.

The auction tries instead to attract buyers and sellers with hearty food. The 380-seat cafeteria does not sell only hot dogs and potato chips; there are also pork chops, smoked sausages and roast beef, at reasonable prices. Enormous helpings are ladled out by the cheerful women behind the steam counter, some of whom wear the white head coverings of the Mennonite and the Brethren, two Christian sects with many adherents in this part of Pennsylvania.

"I weighed 180 when I came here and now I weigh 240, and that's in 12 years," Mr. Gehman said before digging into a huge plate of macaroni and cheese.

But what really seems to excite the crowds are cars. When a bright red Corvette was driven up to one auction booth, men young and old swarmed from nearby lanes, eventually obscuring the car from view. They ran their hands over the body, popped the hood and checked the wheels. Only a few actually appeared to bid, though, and when the next car in line was a purple Saturn sedan, the crowd melted away.

The buyers and sellers tend to talk about making money, not their role in the auto industry. But auto executives and economists say the auctions have a powerful influence. Without the auctions, it would be harder for used-car buyers to find sellers, and this would drive prices down. If used cars were worth less at trade-in, fewer Americans would be able to afford new cars, the sales of which account for 4 percent of the nation's economic output.

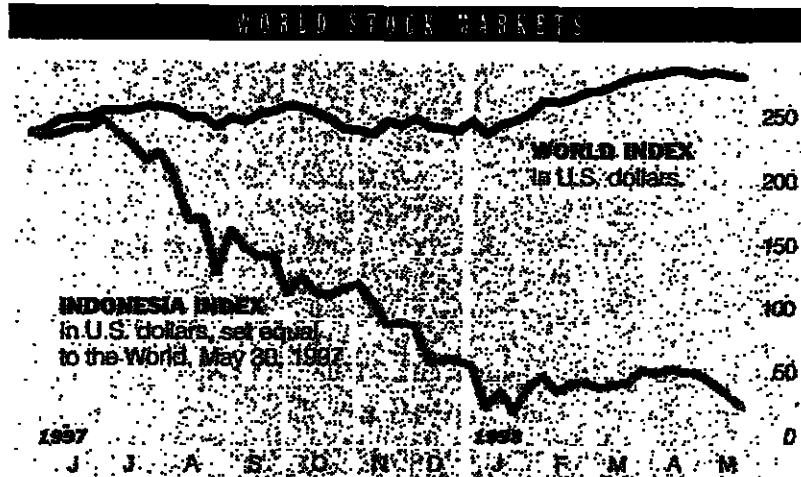
George E. Hoffer, an economist at Virginia Commonwealth University who specializes in automotive retailing, said used-car auctions should be used in textbooks to illustrate economic efficiency. The auctions have thousands of buyers and sellers, and the auction fees are relatively small, typically several hundred dollars a vehicle, he noted, adding, "The used-car market at wholesale is almost perfectly competitive."

WHILE the Manheim auction's efficiency may please buyers and sellers, its growth is angering local residents. With up to 26,000 cars at a time awaiting sale or repair, the auction is constantly scrambling for more parking. Just to move cars around and drive them through the auction lanes, the company employs 600 drivers, mostly retirees who work on Thursdays, when a small auction is held, and on Fridays.

Brian Cain, owner of Cain's Lanes, a bowling alley near the auction, said the huge business was a mixed blessing for the town. "I'm afraid it could make people afraid of moving here because of all the traffic," he said. "Sure they create jobs, but who wants to live around just cars? Already, on Thursdays and Fridays, the traffic is just insane."

The auction company, however, worries more about satisfying dealers like Victor Moes, who owns a used-car lot in Richmond. Mr. Moes recalled that when he once took the rare step of disputing an arbitration ruling, Mr. Gehman decided on the spot that the auction would buy the defective car so that neither the buyer nor the seller would lose money — even though the car was a \$47,000 Ferrari.

"He just wrote the check like he was buying me lunch," Mr. Moes marveled.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Indices are compiled jointly by the Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Country	IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURRENCY				
	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank
Australia	201.97	-2.5	20	0.9	21	3.68	214.07	4.8		
Austria	239.82	-0.4	9	26.9	7	1.48	221.98	25.7		
Belgium	339.05	2.3	1	33.2	5	2.35	307.34	32.2		
Brazil	237.58	-3.3	25	-0.4	22	1.97	501.48	2.4		
Britain	380.21	-1.1	12	14.6	15	2.84	345.94	15.7		
Canada	243.92	-0.9	11	14.8	14	1.57	256.22	16.4		
Denmark	490.49	-3.2	24	9.6	18	1.34	452.59	8.6		
Finland	436.63	-1.3	16	56.8	1	1.84	496.07	55.8		
France	317.62	1.3	3	32.7	6	1.98	297.69	31.8		
Germany	290.33	1.6	2	26.5	9	1.22	268.88	25.4		
Hong Kong	288.14	-4.6	27	-19.3	27	5.55	286.63	-19.3		
Indonesia	32.09	-21.7	30	-51.4	28	3.32	213.10	-4.3		
Ireland	541.76	-1.2	13	34.9	4	1.80	539.32	35.9		
Italy	165.46	-1.3	15	40.6	2	1.29	217.05	39.7		
Japan	94.01	0.7	4	-1.3	23	0.99	79.68	1.7		
Malaysia	165.99	-0.9	10	1.0	20	2.90	239.34	-2.9		
Mexico	1,585.75	-3.6	26	-12.1	25	1.82	14,760.47	-7.1		
Netherlands	510.76	-0.2	8	24.6	10	1.97	468.03	23.4		
New Zealand	69.14	-1.7	17	-9.5	24	4.77	68.51	-2.0		
Norway	335.65	-2.9	21	5.1	19	1.84	341.02	6.7		
Philippines	90.82	-5.1	28	14.5	16	1.15	179.91	14.1		
Singapore	183.06	-6.8	29	-18.7	26	2.17	138.44	-20.8		
South Africa	316.41	-3.1	22	19.2	12	2.56	351.53	24.5		
Spain	375.62	0.3	6	38.2	3	1.78	430.19	37.1		
Sweden	595.36	-1.9	19	26.8	8	1.71	682.06	23.7		
Switzerland	402.87	-1.3	14	18.2	13	1.09	369.90	20.0		
Thailand	23.23	-3.2	23	20.4	11	6.00	35.06	-2.8		
United States	453.08	-0.0	7	14.3	17	1.42	453.08	14.3		

COMPOSITE INDICES				
Europe	336.29	-0.3	23.2	1.99
Pacific Basin	102.32	-0.3	-3.4	-1.70
Europe/Pacific	208.18	-0.3	14.2	1.91
World	289.57	-0.2	14.1	1.65

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close.
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EXCHANGES				
Exchange rate	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	134.52	132.83	+1.27	115.60
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.7847	1.7701	+0.82	1.6928
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.4486	1.4363	+0.86	1.3735
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.6271	1.6393	-0.74	1.6358

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

May 11-15: Markets Tread Water, Awaiting the Fed

PRICES		
DOMESTIC EQUITIES		
Broad market	Up 0.05%	
S. & P. 500 index	1,108.73	
Blue chips	Up 0.45%	
Dow 30 industrials	9,096.00	
Small capitalization	Down 1.47%	
Russell 2000 index	472.44	

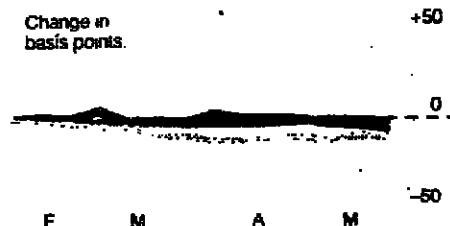
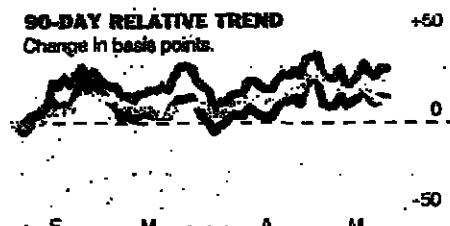
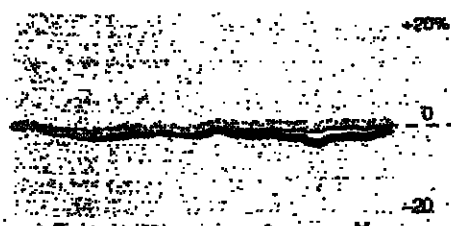
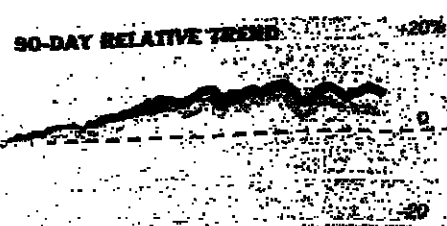
DOMESTIC BONDS		
Treasuries	Up 0.01%	
Ryan Labs. Total Return	217.28	
Municipals	Up 0.93%	
Bond Buyer index	122.88	
Corporates	Up 0.17%	
Merrill Lynch Master index	958.19	

AROUND THE WORLD		
European stocks	Down 0.34%	
F.T.-Actuaries Europe	356.29	
Asian stocks	Down 0.25%	
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	102.32	
Gold	Up 0.40%	
New York cash price	\$301.90	

Foreign indexes are given in dollar terms.

YIELDS		
BONDS		
Long bonds	5.97%	
30-year Treasuries	Unchanged	
Notes	5.61%	
2-year Treasuries	Up 4 basis pts.	
Municipals	5.28%	
Bond Buyer index	Down 6 basis pts.	

OTHER INVESTMENTS		
Money market funds	4.97%	
Taxable average	Down 2 basis pts.	
Bank C.D.'s	4.98%	
1-year small savers	Down 1 basis pt.	
Stocks	1.44%	
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Down 1 b.p.	



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

In America
BOB HERBERT

Making The Babe Proud

Something special is happening in the Bronx. Forget for a moment the controversy over whether the Yankees will move in the next few years to the West Side or to New Jersey or at all.

The team that has been taking the field this year has the potential to be one of the greatest in the history of the franchise, which means one of the greatest ever in baseball.

It's early. We are only now emerging from the spring rains. But already we know that this team—hits for a high average, hits with power, has splendid pitching, both starting and relief, can run the bases, has excellent fielders, and depth.

And unlike a lot of previous Yankee teams, even the good ones, it is mercifully short on jerks and jackasses.

This is a quiet team. Joe Torre, the manager, sits in the dugout like a sphinx, next to Don Zimmer, his top coach, who sits there like a Buddha. There's about a century's worth of baseball wisdom between them, but they're not noisy about it. A slow stroll to the mound, a gesture to an outfielder, a brief conversation by the water cooler. It's minimalist management and it's been astonishingly effective.

Coming into this weekend's series against the Minnesota Twins, the Yankees had won 26 games and lost only 8. It was the second-best record after 34 games in franchise history. The only Yankee team with a faster start over the same span was the vintage 1928 squad, which went 27-7. That team had Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig and went on to win the World Series in a four-game sweep over the St. Louis Cardinals.

This year's Yankees, heading into the weekend, had won 11 of their last 13 games, 17 of their last 20 and 25 of their last 29. It's tough getting through even one inning against the Yankees. Coming into the weekend, Yankee batters had not been retired in order in 94 straight innings.

You want fielding? Prior to the Minnesota series the Yanks had gone

Quiet magic at Yankee Stadium.

11 games without yielding an unearned run.

This team is something. A recent story in *The Times* began: "The sun rose in the East today and the Yankees won, naturally occurring events."

In sports, there are teams and individuals and events that capture the collective imagination and live in history like great works of art. Bob by Thomson hitting his home run against the Dodgers. Babe Ruth hitting 60. Joe Louis knocking people out. Brooklyn's Boys of Summer. Lombardi's Green Bay Packers.

This year's Yankees have a shot at that kind of renown. It is a team loaded with quiet, clear-eyed gunners. You come into their sights, they take you out.

There are no great names. Their most famous player, Darryl Strawberry, is having a fine year but he is far from their best player. And even Strawberry, who has been controversial in the past, is behaving himself this year.

Derek Jeter, their fine young matinee idol of a shortstop, has been given every opportunity to develop a swelled head. He has resisted mightily. This year the Yankees paired him with a savvy, scrappy, veteran second baseman named Chuck Knoblauch. Jeter will be even better.

Tino Martinez, the first baseman, is so quiet he wouldn't be noticed at all except for the fact that he is a relentlessly powerful hitter who drives in just about everybody who is fortunate enough to be on base when he comes up to bat.

Their centerfielder, roaming the real estate once owned by DiMaggio and Mantle, is an introspective, switch-hitting young man named Bernie Williams, who wears wire-rimmed glasses, talks sparingly and relaxes by playing the guitar.

There is strength on this team everywhere you look. It has 300 hits batting ninth. It leads the league in stolen bases. It has a hard-throwing starting pitcher from Japan with an earned run average of 1.11. It has a hard-throwing relief pitcher from Panama with an E.R.A. of 0.69.

It has an outfielder named Paul O'Neill who rivals Ted Williams in the intensity of his approach to hitting. It has talent, smarts and heart. Said one fan: "They're everything the Knicks aren't."

Some players and some teams are so good it is almost a privilege to watch them do their thing. Willie Mays comes to mind, and Red Auerbach's Boston Celtics.

The 1998 Yankees may be like that.



By John J. Mearsheimer

CHICAGO
It is often argued that nuclear weapons have no redeeming value, and that any state that goes nuclear is engaging in dangerous and self-defeating behavior. Thus, President Clinton maintains that India's recent nuclear tests were a "terrible mistake." The implication is that nuclear weapons should be eliminated altogether.

In fact, nuclear weapons are a superb deterrent for states that feel threatened by rival powers. Simply put, no state is likely to attack the homeland or vital interests of a nuclear-armed state for fear that such a move might trigger a horrific nuclear response. Not surprisingly, therefore, states are often tempted to acquire nuclear weapons to enhance their security.

This logic explains America's longstanding love affair with the bomb and why it will never junk its nuclear deterrent, even as it tries to deny others that option.

Israel is another case in point. Although it enjoys an overwhelming conventional superiority and none of

Why the global arms race seems sure to spread.

its Arab foes have nuclear weapons, Israel still built an impressive nuclear deterrent. This is hardly surprising, given the legacy of the Holocaust and the fact that Israel lives in a dangerous part of the globe. Would President Clinton argue that Israel made a terrible mistake in going nuclear?

India's decision to bring its bomb out of the basement is based on equally reasonable strategic logic. India shares a long and disputed border with China. Not only does China have its own nuclear arsenal, but it also may be on the road to superpower status.

Moreover, China has been supplying nuclear and missile technology to Pakistan, its close ally. Pakistan has fought three wars with India in the past 50 years, has unsettled territorial disputes with India, and remains India's most bitter rival. Indian officials are understandably fearful of a hostile encirclement by China and Pakistan, and perhaps even the United States, which has historical ties to Pakistan and is now trying to improve relations with China.

So it is surely in India's self-interest to build a nuclear deterrent — as it will be for Pakistan to follow suit. But from the perspective of the United States, the ideal world is one in which it alone has nuclear weapons. Then the United States would not risk direct attack on its homeland or indirect damage from the fallout from nuclear wars between other nations. It could also use its nuclear monopoly to coerce or intimidate other states, and could intervene with conventional forces around the globe without fear of nuclear attack on its forces. For these reasons, the United States has gone to great lengths since 1945 to thwart nuclear proliferation.

During the cold war, the United States and the Soviet Union could

John J. Mearsheimer is a professor of political science at the University of Chicago.

dampen proliferation with relative ease. The global nature of their competition meant that both superpowers became deeply involved in most world trouble spots. Neither superpower wanted its allies in those contested regions to have nuclear weapons, so they gave security guarantees to vulnerable allies, as the United States did with Germany and Japan. Or they issued nuclear threats on behalf of allies during crises, as the Soviet Union did for Egypt in 1956 and for Egypt and Syria in 1973. Or they pressured allies not to go nuclear, as the United States did with South Korea and Taiwan in the late 1970s.

But today the Soviet Union is no longer there to dampen proliferation in its former sphere of influence. Instead, its collapse has raised the risk that nuclear weapons, materials and scientists will seep to the rest of the world.

And the United States must now exert more conscious effort to curb proliferation. During the cold war, nonproliferation was a natural side effect of American global activism. This ambitious agenda gave the United States reason to protect its many allies from Soviet aggression; this protection also had the benefit of easing those allies' appetite for nuclear weapons. Now it is harder for the United States to summon the will to remain a provider of global security. The Americans still have many carrots and sticks to use against proliferation, but perhaps less will to use them.

The new international situation also presents the United States with three other management problems. First, in the absence of the Soviet threat, the American military has shrunk in size by roughly one-third and will likely shrink more over time. This means that the United States will be less able to extend credible security guarantees to vulnerable nations or issue effective threats on their behalf in order to prevent proliferation. The arms race among East Asia powers, for example, is motivated in large measure by growing fear in the region that the American pacifier will not be there for the long haul.

Second, nuclear knowledge will continue to spread, and the cost of developing nuclear weapons will continue to fall. In the 1940's only the richest states could contemplate building nuclear forces. Today more nations can aspire to nuclear status, and the number of potential aspirants will grow in the future as the price of building these weapons drops further. The Soviet collapse accelerates this trend by creating a potential cheap underground marketplace for nuclear materials.

Third, without a clear and present danger to force an ordering of priorities, myriad competing interests and values vie to dominate American foreign policy, sometimes producing contradictory policies that make proliferation more likely.

Consider NATO expansion. This new alignment makes Germany and NATO's three new members feel more secure, but it also angers and offends the Russians, giving them reason to undermine American policy in other regions of the world. On the proliferation front, the result is that Russia is supplying Iran with technologies that will help make Iran a nuclear power and pushing to weaken and ultimately end sanctions on Iraq. It is also unwilling to punish India for going nuclear. Thus one hand in Washington undoes the work of the other.

Another case of clashing interests involves China and India. The United States wants to avoid a confrontation with China by engaging it diplomati-

cally and economically, which is why President Clinton will visit Beijing next month. India fears China's growing power, however, and is already suspicious that the United States is trying to reach an accommodation with China at India's expense. So Mr. Clinton's visit may solve one problem but worsen another by causing anxiety in India, making it feel less secure and more convinced than ever that it needs a robust nuclear deterrent.

All these factors combine to make it likely that other states will follow in India's footsteps. This means that the United States will have to learn to live with the spread of nuclear weapons in the decades ahead. We should try to manage and contain this process, but we cannot stop it.

Peter Kuper

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Nicotine-Stained Halo

BELFAST, Northern Ireland
George Mitchell was trying to bask in his diplomatic glory.

The former Maine Senator, a candidate for knighthood in Britain and sainthood in Ireland, made a speech at the National Press Club in Washington on Wednesday, sharing reflections on his role in winning the longest of long shots, a peace agreement for Northern Ireland.

The press, however, has a very short attention span. The journalists were distracted from peace to bang-bang in three other "I" countries — India, Indonesia and Israel. And, as usual, they were distracted by sex.

Doug Harbrecht, the press club president, read Mr. Mitchell a question from the audience: "Since you are married to a woman 25 years younger than you, many in the audience are wondering whether you, like another famous Verner, Liptert partner, Bob Dole, have ever used Viagra. Care to comment, please?"

"The answer is no," Mr. Mitchell replied, with a broad smile, "and I've got a 6-month-old son to prove that I don't need it!"

I felt queasy at what the question presaged for future Presidential campaigns. I never want to hear Richard Gephardt and Steve Forbes quizzed about Viagra, for Pete's sake.

But Mr. Mitchell was in such fine fettle over his shimmering accomplishment massaging and melding bitter rival factions in Ireland, he probably would not have lost his beatific smile no matter what oddball question he was lobbed.

The man deserves blessings. He made 100 trans-Atlantic flights to Ireland in three years, brokered a settlement on terms tolerable to two governments and eight political parties, listening and soothing even after "everything that needed to be said had been said many times over," as he put it.

But in the great Washington tradition, Mr. Mitchell has been doing good and doing well.

On the dais as Mr. Mitchell's guests were his law partners at the politically connected Verner, Liptert firm, Berl Bernhard and Harry McPherson, who are also Democratic mandarins. After Mr. Mitchell returned from his Irish triumph, Mr. Bernhard led the firm in a standing ovation at an impromptu reception for the peacemaker.

While Mr. Mitchell and his Verner, Liptert partners are celebrating over doing the Lord's work in Ireland,

they've been doing Big Tobacco's work in Washington. While Mr. Mitchell spoke movingly in his speech about wanting to insure a safe future for the 61 babies born in Northern Ireland the same day as his son, Verner, Liptert has been lobbying on behalf of an addiction that poses a deadly threat to American children: smoking.

The law firm earned more than \$10 million in fees in 1997 from the five largest tobacco companies. Originally, Mr. Mitchell and Verner, Liptert justified working for the tobacco industry by arguing that they were promoting the historic \$368.5 billion tobacco settlement reached last June, which would have provided new funding for teen anti-smoking programs and other public health initiatives.

Irish peace, tobacco war.

But now Big Tobacco has launched an aggressive, multimillion-dollar advertising and lobbying campaign to kill tobacco legislation sponsored by Senator John McCain that would extract even more money from cigarette makers to stop kids from smoking. Mr. McCain says it is "not fun" to see himself ripped by tobacco companies in TV and radio ads in Arizona. With Big Tobacco in a recalcitrant mood, the prospect for enacting last year's settlement seems off the radar.

And when the cigarette makers stalked away, Verner, Liptert went with them. The industry's critics are saying that Verner, Liptert should now be doing some soul-searching over whether it wants to stick with Big Tobacco. "Now they should see that they are on the wrong side of the fight," said one anti-smoking activist. "But it's going to be hard for these lawyers to go tobacco-free. They are in the hourly rate business." And \$10 million is a mighty fat fee.

Mr. McCain said that the Washington lawyers and former Democratic and Republican wise men — Bob Dole, Howard Baker and George Mitchell — who are becoming rich on tobacco money "really need to examine their responsibilities, they really do."

Having taken such good care of the children of Ireland, maybe Mr. Mitchell and his law firm should now take good care of ours.

LONE WOLF

A Biography of Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky

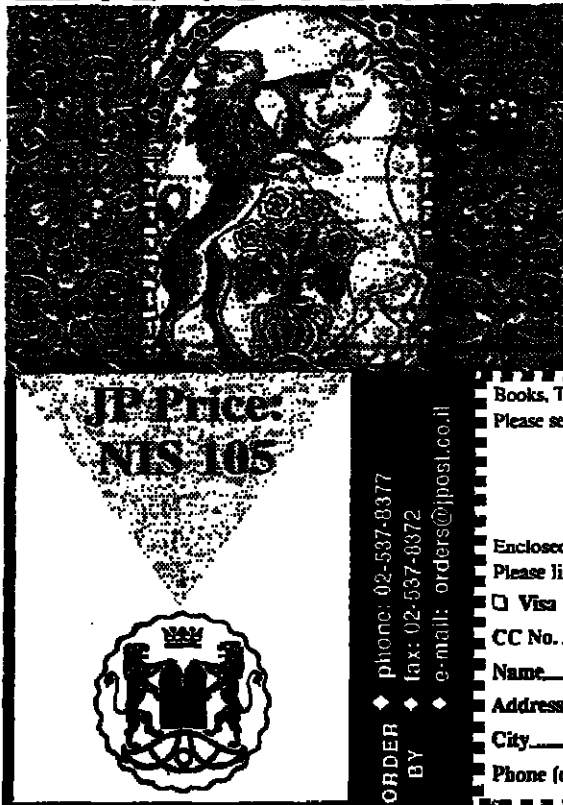
by Shmuel Katz

This is the long-awaited English version of the biography of one of the most dramatic figures of 20th century Jewish history — Ze'ev Jabotinsky, founder of Revisionism — journalist, novelist, poet, soldier, linguist and outstanding orator. Shmuel Katz has drawn on archival material, unpublished and newly translated letters, and extensive sources for this account of the center of Zionist history in the 1920's and beyond. Katz himself is known as an author and newspaper columnist; he has used newly available archival documentation in this meticulous and comprehensive biography, from Odessa, 1880 to New York, 1940. Previously published in Hebrew as JABO. Hardcover, 2 vol., 1856pp.

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Peter Falk Takes On Mysteries of a Deeper Sort

By AMANDA JANE HOOTON

PETER FALK is wearing a raincoat. The high-ceilinged room is warm, and it seems faintly ridiculous that a man should be sitting indoors dressed to go out.

But there is an explanation. First, Mr. Falk is sitting beside an open window and rain is blowing in on him. Second, he has worn a raincoat more or less continuously for 30 years. He sticks with what he knows.

In the flesh, Peter Falk is unexpected. At 71, his hair is whiter, his face more creased, his voice even slower than that of the stumbling detective he has played for so long. And he seems preoccupied, slipping into strange speech patterns, rubbing his face, gazing up at the ceiling.

"I am older than everyone I ever knew," he says, suddenly raising a hand like a seer. "All my dogs are dead. Half a dozen cats, parakeets... all gone.... Probably every woman I ever slept with, too, except my wife."

He is, of course, rehearsing. But there are no wandering questions, no stogies, no long pauses followed by those inevitable words: "Oh, Falk one more thing." Tonight, Mr. Falk will open in an entirely new role: as a retired pilot in Arthur Miller's latest play, "Mr. Peter's Connections," with Anne Jackson as his wife, directed by Garry Hynes at the Signature Theater Off Broadway.

It is hard to know what to say about such an occasion — leading character, world premiere, renowned American playwright. "Don't remind me," Mr. Falk says slowly, lighting up yet another cigarette. "I'll be lucky if I'm still standing when that curtain goes up."

The cigarettes are the reason the window is open: Mr. Falk still smokes nearly a pack a day, and this is a nonsmoking room in a nonsmoking building. "Getting harder and harder for Columbo to bum a match, I'll tell you that," murmurs Mr. Falk, ashing quietly onto the floor.

For those whose knowledge of Peter Falk begins and ends with the infamous cop on the box he has played for exactly 30 years, it seems surprising to find him suddenly taking on a role in the theater. It's true he was in the famous Jose Quintero production of "The Iceman Cometh" with Jason Robards way back when; was on Broadway in Neil Simon's "Prisoner of Second Avenue" in 1971; and toured in 1988 in David Mamet's "Glenrory Glen Ross."

But why now? Mr. Falk shrugs and measures his foot against a puddle on the floor, watching the water seep into his boot. He has made a career out of self-deprecation, so justifying himself is hard. "I once did a film in Russia," he recalls, "because I wanted to see what the hell was going on there. I didn't give a damn about the movie, I was just interested. It's the same with this play: I'm interested in it."

The story of how he was offered the part still makes him laugh: "I asked Arthur Miller how come he thought of me. He said he didn't know that many actors, so he asked his son-in-law Daniel Day-Lewis. And Daniel said, 'Well, you could give Peter Falk a call.' So, guess I owe him a bottle. Two bottles."

Despite the casual modesty, Mr. Falk has been involved with some of the very best playwrights and directors during his long career. He made several movies with the independent filmmaker John Cassavetes (most notably "Husbands"), and has worked with Steven Spielberg (an early episode of "Columbo") and Frank Capra ("A Pocketful of Miracles").

Now there is Mr. Miller, 82, who is being celebrated in a season devoted

to his work at the Signature; a season that has seen the Roundabout Theater Company's revival of his "View From the Bridge" move to Broadway, where it has received four Tony Award nominations.

But the nature of "Mr. Peter's Connections" "is very different from anything else I've ever done," admits Mr. Falk slowly. "Arthur feels, perhaps rightly, that people can be suddenly struck with an emotion, without knowing where it came from. So there is no preface, no build-up. You're just suddenly there. And those abrupt emotional transitions, say, from someone who is puzzled and bewildered and trying to figure it out, to someone who is overwhelmed by a surge of fear — well, that's something to try to play."

In "Mr. Peter's Connections," Mr. Falk portrays the title character, a retired Pan Am pilot who has just purchased a pair of shoes and appears to be sitting in an abandoned

Columbo takes a new path, as the lead in Arthur Miller's latest play.

nightclub waiting for his wife. Before she arrives, he encounters an assortment of mysterious characters who may be real or may be phantoms from his past. Even the nightclub seems both real and surreal; a place of purgatory, deliverance and damnation.

The title is alluded to in a somewhat opaque statement by Peters: "I think what I'm trying to do... find my connection with is... what's the word... continually... yes, with the past, perhaps... in the hope of finding a... yes, a subject."

Those involved in the production are unwilling to offer explanations for its mysteries. But there are similarities with earlier Miller works, notably the 1964 "After the Fall," which shares the same panoramic framework, the same central character besieged by his past.

There are also strong suggestions of an autobiographical element — suggestions that both director and playwright are keen to dispel. "It's tempting to make those connections," says Ms. Hynes, whose production of Martin McDonagh's "Beauty Queen of Leenane" recently transferred to Broadway after rave reviews and has itself received six Tony nominations. "But we don't understand any more about these characters by matching them up with people in Arthur's life, because Arthur, as a writer, has turned them into writing. Seeing them as particular people really doesn't assist in understanding the play."

Still, it seems impossible not to wonder about correlations among the self-destructive Maggie in "After the Fall," Cathy Mae in the new play, a tragic vision in a transparent dress who dances with Peters, and Mr. Miller's second wife, Marilyn Monroe. "The flat broad belly, the spring of thighs, how the fire flares up just before it dies!" cries Peters.

Other figures seem to suggest Inge Morath, Mr. Miller's wife of 38 years, and Joe DiMaggio, Monroe's second husband. Mr. Miller, however, maintains the division between art and life. "It's not really autobiographical. I don't think," he says. "At least, no more than anything else I've done."

For his part, Mr. Falk, flicking his coat tails out as he picks up his coffee, says: "Me, I'm still trying to work it out. Sometimes I feel like I don't have a clue. But Arthur did say



Peter Falk on the set of "Mr. Peter's Connections," the new play by Arthur Miller — "a very funny noncomedy."

it's all in his head. The whole play, and all these people, are in Peter's head."

Even if the characters in "Mr. Peter's Connections" do not correspond to people in Mr. Miller's own life, many of the play's themes do. "One of the things that Arthur had in mind with this play — and I suppose the thing that I really responded to — was this strange double phenomena in the world today," Mr. Falk says. "On the one hand, people are living much longer than they used to, but on the other, their landscape is changing much faster than ever before. So more and more people are faced with looking around and saying, 'Is this the same planet I was born on, or am I someplace else?'"

Mr. Miller calls this feeling the "terra incognita" of the modern age. Mr. Falk has a more prosaic explanation. "I have a master's, and these days I can't use a public phone," he says (the public administration department that I really responded to — was this strange double phenomena in the world today," Mr. Falk says.

"On the one hand, people are living much longer than they used to, but on the other, their landscape is changing much faster than ever before. So more and more people are faced with looking around and saying, 'Is this the same planet I was born on, or am I someplace else?'"

Mr. Falk grew up in Ossining, N.Y., the son of a store owner. The city of his childhood, he states, has long gone. But neither is Los Angeles really home, even though he has lived in that city for more than two decades. "I've been there a thousand years, and I never felt comfortable. Beverly Hills — when I first saw it, I thought they put it up this morning. You got to pack water to get to the drugstore. So I guess I'm kind of in limbo."

This limbo is exactly what Mr. Peters feels. Such a loss of context might appear a depressing theme for a play, but Mr. Falk disagrees. "This play to my mind is a very funny noncomedy," he says. "And I'd accept criticism for that description." Mr. Miller, too, calls "Mr. Peter's Connections" "comedy in spirit."

Comedy should present no problems for Mr. Falk. Wardrobe, however, is another matter. "I'm going to need new shoes for this part," he points out abruptly. "My character has really narrow feet: quadruple-A." He inspects his own foot, now firmly planted in the puddle, as if concerned it will let him down.

It has been a long time since Mr. Falk has had to question his dimensions for a part, because the most famous role of his life has not been a

role at all but a self-dramatization. In reality, Columbo is not Columbo but Peter Falk. The icons of the slow-moving detective's mythology have come from the details of Mr. Falk's own life: the raincoat he bought in a shop on West 57th Street on a rainy day in 1986 and wore in every episode for years; the 1950's Peugeot he discovered rotting in the rear of a garage. Throughout the NBC run of the series, he chose Columbo's shirts, ties and shoes.

Now, however, Mr. Falk has a new role to think about. But not everything will be new. When the lights go up on the opening scene tonight, the figure on stage will be wearing, among other things, a raincoat. "Well," Mr. Falk says, grinning, "it's cold in that nightclub, you know." □

Amanda Jane Hooton, who lives in Perth, Australia, was voted best young journalist of 1997 in both Scotland and Britain.

GREEN EGGS AND HAMLET

By DAVID J. KAHN AND HILLARY B. KAHN / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

1 Be unwarrantably bold

8 Occultism

14 Modus operandi

20 One seen at trackside

22 Moonstruck

23 Lizard with a serrated crest

24 Start of an imaginary soliloquy

27 Inoffensive

28 Accepted

29 Kind of ticket

30 Enzyme suffix

31 Part 2 of the soliloquy

41 Walker's aid

42 Uris marya "—18"

43 Buddhist who has attained Nirvana

44 Sitter's charge

47 Halfwit

48 Tierra-Fuego bridge

49 Spirited meeting?

52 Part 3 of the soliloquy

61 Ref's call

62 Part of many Arab names

63 Favorite

64 International money

65 Part 4 of the soliloquy

72 Prefix with nucleotide

73 French cleric

74 Controversial teachings

75 Promising words

76 Part of a G.I.'s address

79 50's baseball nickname

81 Samantha's daughter on TV

85 1976 album "Ole"

86 Declinations

87 1939 Humphrey Bogart role

88 Barting trains

89 Catch, as tiles

90 Type

92 Part 5 of the soliloquy

103 To me, to Mimi

104 Psychoanalyst from

105 Introduction to marketing?

106 Picnic spoiler

107 Part 6 of the soliloquy

114 Popular van

115 She's a deer

116 Kind of tin

117 Brillo rival

118 Entanglement

120 Holds

122 Pickle place

123 Part 7 of the soliloquy

133 Took place

134 Airport feature

135 Nasser's org.

136 Genoa V.I.P., once

137 End of the soliloquy

147 Put on ice

148 Arbitrates

149 Bawl out

150 One of the Munsters

151 It has its ups and downs

DOWN

1 Smarten up

2 Ham's need

3 Dangerous bacteria

4 Lets fly

5 Actor Tognazzi

6 Zinger

7 Elusive one

8 Word with wheel or engine

9 At all

10 Dog-scooping word

11 "What's in —?"

12 Put aboard

13 Land around the Brahmaputra Valley

14 Station in space

15 Something to stroke

16 King of song

17 "Very funny"

18 Quick round of tennis

19 Stunt man, e.g.

21 — la Plata

22 Obfuscate

23 "The Birth of a Nation" grp.

26 Journalist Nellie

32 One — (ball game)

33 "I'm a Stranger Here Myself" poet

34 Put on the throne

35 Insect nests

36 Narrow valley

37 Reach on foot

38 "The — Love"

39 Killer whale

40 Classical music features

44 Noted Yugoslav patriot

45 Mixed dish

46 Fill-in

49 1978 exile

50 Naturalness

51 Churchill contemporary

53 Checkup

54 Second degree?

55 Go — for

56 When repeated, an old-fashioned cry

57 Spinner

58 "Here's — your eye!"

59 Southwest land

60 Dummies

66 Grated on

67 Fatuous

68 Abate

69 Theological belief

70 Long island community

71 Reef, maybe

76 Orlan Kashoggi

77 Blurb, e.g.

78 Part of a yoke

80 Flashlight carriers

82 Definitive word

83 Cacao exporter

84 Veep before Ford

91 First name in opera

93 More smooth

94 Artist with collectible lithos

95 Equivocator's forte

96 Some I.B.M. products

97 Tail

98 A year in the life of St. Anselm

99 Barked

100 Muzzles

ACROSS

101 Popular snack

102 Explosives

103 Parched

109 Oberhausen one

110 — lay me down

111 Target of a bang-up job?

112 Actress Taylor

113 Sins —

118 Bandage

119 Legit

121 Gulf war weapons

122 Father-and-daughter actors

123 Swagger

124 Depot abbr.

125 Narc activities

126 Person with a milke

127 1982 Michener epic

128 "Bali —"

129 Word on a ticket

130 Teams up with

131 Type size

132 Reminders

138 "Nightmare" street

139 Kitty in "The Killers," 1946

140 Hamilton is on it

141 Flower on a French shield

142 Author LeShan

143 Just-hired

144 Rod

145 Common possessive

146 It has a bite and hops

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

RICHELIEU SCRAPPS GREASE
EROTICA TAIPEI SAURIAN
VENDORERS ASBESTOS
ELISE POUTER SAUTE LILI
LAIRD STA AISLE VIAL
ENS OCTOBERVEST PASTE
DOT CHER LEAST PAUSED
TIAD LAYS POLL
SHADY VIRETUNES TREK
GOLDENGLIDE WHITE LAMA
AARD VASIS KEXER LANA
HANG EQUIT HEMER SHIDE
FLEE VATEDROE SLEDDED
REEL SLID LIE
GRAVEL ACTIN AONE TAS
LEYAR VILECAOTNET PAT
OVEN SARED RUD STARR
SER SARSA SHARON ARNO
SHARLOP REVERENCEBOOK
EGGNOSE ELEVEN WALONE
DEEDER DYNAST PREMED



Mr. Falk, as the raincoat-draped Detective Columbo, and Oskar Werner in "Playback" in 1975.

الطريق الى

'I'm a Jew, a feminist, and a witch'

Miriam Simos, aka Starhawk, has revived the ancient art of female spiritualists and healers. Ruth Mason spoke to the American author who took part in the recent Israeli Feminist Conference



Starhawk realizes the word 'witch' puts people off, but says it is an important political act to reclaim it. (Chen Eliaz)

Starhawk doesn't wear a pointy black hat or ride a broomstick, but she might just have a little magic in her wand. Born Miriam Simos in St. Paul, Minnesota, 46 years ago, Starhawk is a leader in the women's spirituality movement and a self-declared witch. She enchanted an audience of several hundred women at Israel's 13th national feminist conference last weekend.

"I'm a Jew, a feminist and a witch," she told the full auditorium at the Ramat Efraim Conference Center. "That last term probably needs the most explaining."

Starhawk first learned about witches who practiced "the old goddess tradition" while researching an anthropology project during her first year at UCLA. That tradition stressed the sanctity of the earth, the human body and nature. "They put a name on things I had always experienced," Starhawk told *The Jerusalem Post*.

"My own deep experiences of connection happened in nature or through sexuality and here was something that said, 'This is sacred, this is religious, this is important.' I said to myself, 'That's for me.'"

In the nearly 30 years since, Starhawk has been teaching, lecturing around the world and writing about feminist spirituality. She has authored six books including *The Spiral Dance*, published by Harper in 1979 and still in print, and her latest work, *The Pagan Book of Living and Dying*, (Harper, 1997.) In the goddess-oriented tradition known as "Wicca," Starhawk said she has found more of a place for women as figures of authority and power than there is in Judaism.

According to Dr. Jenny Kien, a former neuro-biologist and follower of Starhawk who lives in Jerusalem, Wicca was a pre-Christian, Northern European nature-based religion whose central figure was a goddess instead of a god. Witches were the shamans and wise women of Wicca.

After the Inquisition, Wicca became very small and was practiced in secret. It re-surfaced in England at the beginning of the 20th century, during the period of esoteric revival prior to World War I. It spread to the US and was adopted by some feminists in the 1970s. According to Kien, there are hundreds of thousands of Wiccans around the world. People who practice Wicca today call themselves witches.

SOFT-SPOKEN and articulate, Starhawk looks more like a plump, curly-haired Jewish matron than the fairy-tale or movie image of a witch. She speaks in measured tones rather than the passionate ones one might expect. Her grandparents were Orthodox and her parents Reform Jews, and she received a Conservative Jewish education. Her new name came from a dream she had about a hawk who turned into a wise old woman.

"When you make a commitment to the goddess tradition, it's traditional to take on a name for rituals and ceremonies. I use it for most of the writing and work that I do."

Her work includes being active in anti-nuclear and forest preservation as well as AIDS-prevention groups. She ties goddess-centered religion with eco-feminism, a political movement that points to a link between the domination of men over women and the domination of people over the earth.

Starhawk, who is married with four step-children and has an M.A. in psychology, said she realizes the word "witch" puts people off, but she and others believe it is an important political act to reclaim it. "Witches were the herbalists and healers of old - people who could twist fate for you," she explained. "Their spirituality was rooted in the earth, in plants, in the cycles of life, death and rebirth. It recognized the idea that women can be powerful and sexual and that this could be a good thing."

In the 16th century, Starhawk said, the Inquisition turned its attention to these female healers, accusing them of being in league with Satan. Starhawk pointed to political and economic factors underlying the persecution, such as the rise of a male-dominated medical tradition.

"In some towns in Germany, after the Inquisition passed through, no women were left alive," she claimed. Today's Wiccans say that contemporary images of witches are a reconstruction of the Inquisition.

Growing up in Los Angeles, Starhawk attended Hebrew High School, Camp Ramah and the University of Judaism. She considers herself both a Jew and a pagan, though she admits that "most Jews would consider me a raving heretic."

Starhawk said that for a long time her mother thought she was "nuts," but later in her life she

began to understand what I was doing and became more reconciled to it. Rabbi Laura Geller, who is a friend of hers, helped her understand me. She told my mother she should stop worrying about me - that I was making a great contribution to Judaism by doing what I was doing."

She believes the goddess tradition actually goes back to the essence of what she was taught about the Jewish God. "I was taught that God was not male or female, but spirit. I remember when I was very small in Sunday school, one of my teachers saying God is in everything. Someone asked, 'Even in your finger?' She held up her pinkie with the nail painted blood-red and said, 'Even in my little finger.'"

"In that sense, the goddess tradition is not that different from the Jewish conception of God. In the Torah, God took on a character more similar to the Babylonian

war gods that were 'all about obedience and authority,'" she said.

Starhawk referred to research that showed that early Paleolithic cultures in the fifth to seventh millennium BCE were goddess-oriented and were egalitarian and peaceful. Later, between the fourth and second centuries BCE, during times of war and invasion, these cultures gradually transformed themselves into male-dominated, hierarchical ones and the image of God changed to reflect that. "I'm trying to go back to what might have been there before patriarchy," she said.

"Women's spirituality is unified by the insight that the way we envision or imagine or define God has a great impact on how we see ourselves and the way power is distributed in society," she said.

She quoted author Mary Daly who wrote, "When God is a male, then the male is God."

Women meet to dance - and fight

Starhawk may be powerful, but not powerful enough to be immune to the tears triggered by the topic of feminism at the 13th national feminist conference at Ramat Efraim last weekend. "Women from feminist organizations throughout Israel learned from each other, celebrated their accomplishments, and danced all the while," she said.

For the first time, women with right-wing views were included on panels. For the first time, observant women were accommodated: participants were asked not to use the microphone on the Sabbath (though no one was prevented from doing so). Ramat Efraim was chosen because of its historic Sabbath services were held and a study session was provided for religious women on Friday night as an alternative to the dance party.

Religious participants, many of them young, may have felt more at home at the old-time "leftist" dance sessions.

At the heart of feminism, declared Rachel Ostrovitz, 51, an activist who was one of the organizers of *Ha'aretz's* Israeli feminist magazine, "In past years, I would come away from the conference with renewed energies. This time, I came back feeling

frustration, sorrow and despair. Years of work were destroyed. Ostrovitz and others said there was no room for feminism in the conference for right-wing women, though some were more accepting of a religious presence.

"Feminism is an ideology that seeks to eradicate all forms of oppression," Ostrovitz said. "If someone has an ideology that land or history is more important than people, or that Jews are more precious than non-Jews, that means they are oppressors, they cannot call themselves feminists."

The panel on "Women and Peace" included Miriam Shalev, a Likud candidate for the Ramat Hasharon City Council, and Nathalie Lesterger, a National Religious Party Central Committee member who hoped to be a candidate on the NRP list for the Jerusalem City Council.

Passions ran high at the closing session on Saturday. One woman ended her argument against the inclusion of right-wing women in the conference by saying, "If you are here, then I won't be." A woman who defined herself as right-wing, religious and a feminist shed tears as she said, "This is where I belong. You can't tell me there is no place for me here."

Yvonne Deutsch, 44, founder of *Kol Ha'Isha*, the Jerusalem feminist center that organized the event

this year, explained the leftist angst: "At a time when the right is ruling the country and fundamentalism is on the rise, it's very hard for some women to see the Right-wing as partners in the feminist struggle."

While she defines herself as a radical feminist, Deutsch said, "I want to have a dialogue with them [rightists] to see if I can affect them."

Conference organizer Karni Goldsmith, 26, who refers to herself as a right-wing, religious feminist, added: "There is liberal feminism, which focuses on equal rights and opportunities and radical feminism, which seeks to change the patriarchal nature of society. In past years, the radical feminism was heard more. This was the first year that right-wing women participated in the conference planning committee. In a way, we came out of the closet. We are saying we can be right-wing and religious and be feminists without being oppressors. The radical feminists are willing to be tolerant of every voice except mine."

Deutsch said she believed most of the women attending supported the presence of right-wing and religious women. "It's easy to talk only to those who agree with us. But it's important to have a dialogue with those who don't."

In the goddess-oriented religion, the earth is seen as a living, sacred organism. Starhawk and other devotees believe that modern society has lost sight of the importance of the planet on which we live, and that is at the root of many of today's ills.

"When I spoke to a group yesterday, someone asked, 'Why is the earth so important?'" she told her audience. "That illustrates our disconnection. How do I answer this? Do I ask, 'What did you have for breakfast?' 'When did you take your last breath?' 'When did you last drink water?'"

She is distressed to see how little wilderness is left in Israel. "This is supposed to be the Holy Land and everyone is focused on the holy, and what I say is holy and on what you say is holy and the land has been forgotten."

"With its climate and technological ability, Israel has tremendous potential to be the world leader in using technology to solve environmental problems. These solutions exist. The problem is not that we don't know what to do about them but that we don't have the political will to do it."

Just like Israel invented drip irrigation, it could be leading the world in solar energy and a truly ecological approach to development - but there seems to be very little thinking about that here. People seem to have lost their sense of connection with the land itself. They've forgotten that real security comes from preserving your soil as well as having lots of arms."

Looking to nature as a sacred text can offer other lessons for this part of the world, Starhawk said. "Nature never plants forests with only one kind of tree," she said. "There is diversity, each kind of tree has its place and if you remove one, the forest can't function as well. If we see that every one has a different part of the picture, we come to value diversity and we can have dialogue."

"We have to find a way to accommodate different people who have enormously strong connections to this land. We have to come to terms with the Palestinians and find a way to understand that we both have to share this place."

Starhawk was quick to emphasize that because she doesn't live in Israel, she can't be telling people here what to do. "The enormous amount of fear here is based in reality. But at the same time, the Oslo accords showed us it is possible to get beyond that. When I was here two years ago, the movement toward peace was much stronger. It's very sad to come back and feel how very tenuous it is now."

Aynat Idan, a teacher in Jerusalem, commented after hearing Starhawk speak: "She says simple, important things and is very coherent. There is something similar between the different realms in which power is misused - between men and women, people and nature. She sees alternatives, she provides answers."

But not everyone was impressed. "It's too little, too late," said Rachel Ostrovitz, a Tel Aviv architect. "Her ideas are old and a little anachronistic. We need to talk about the nuclear fifth we are forced to inhale in this country, of the destruction of our air quality by excessive automobile fumes. Starhawk's ideas are not relevant to our lives in Israel today."

Iris Yotvat of Pardess Hanna, who facilitates Wicca groups in Israel, explained the goddess tradition goes together with Jewish tradition. "Judaism talks about two faces of God, male and female," she said. "The idea is to take wisdom from these [goddess-centered] sources and see what's relevant for us today in order to empower women."

Ate tu, Brut?

It's an idea so obvious, but for 2,000 years nobody thought of it: a Roman restaurant, in Rome.

We're not talking gnocchi here. I don't know what the Italians have been so busy with over the centuries, but it never occurred to them that, when in Rome, you could make a lot of money doing what the Romans did.

Leave it to Israeli ingenuity. The owners of Jerusalem's Culinarium - a theme restaurant true to Apicius-era dining, right down to the togas - are planning to export their idea right back to where it all began.

But why stop there? They're going to embark on a little empire-building of their own, with a culinary invasion in the footsteps of the Roman Legionnaires: throughout Europe, here in Jaffa and at the Dead Sea, and, uh, in Miami. (No, the Roman Empire did not reach that far, but Miami has tourists, so what the heck.)

The overseas chain will be modeled after the nine-year success of the Culinarium, except for a couple of details: it won't be kosher, and the shuck will be different. The shuck is what makes this

conquering culture. No, Caesar Shmuel said.

Then he winced. "There was one guy. He said, 'Does this mean that in 2,000 years there's going to be a Nazi restaurant?'"

Phht! Even the likes of NRP MK Hanan Porat has managed to digest a meal here without mentioning Masada. However, he did firmly decline to wear a Legionnaire's helmet, in case some humorless news photographer was lurking.

that look? It is perfectly consistent with Jerusalem logic that a Christian establishment is owned by Jews and managed by an Arab. And it is the latter, Imam, who delivers the comic monologue for Hebrew-speaking groups.

It took a while to perfect his *shpiel*, though. At first, he made an understandable mistake. Pointing out the efforts they'd made to recreate an authentic Roman dining room, he made note of the color of the walls, painted in "Bombay red."

Huh? He was subsequently given a

Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

Culinarium's most notable compromise with modern times is that it no longer waters down the wine, as the Romans did; it seems 20th-century diners complained: Now the owners of the Jerusalem theme restaurant - complete with 'lavatorium' and 'vomitorium' - are planning to export their idea right back to where it all began: Rome

joint unusual. You don't just *khlop* the food, *grype* and waddle out the door. Co-owner Shmuel Mantinband, an Orthodox Jew whose calling card gives his title as "Caesar," and Imam Tibi ("Curator"), a tall, handsome, twinkly-eyed Arab from East Jerusalem, run a show that has the place rollicking.

These folks don't just greet you at the door with a mumbled "Good evening," trumpets blare to proclaim your arrival, which can be a bit embarrassing if you're late and trying to sneak in unnoticed by the rest of your party. Then, unless you're a fuddy-duddy, you allow yourself to be bedecked in toga and garland, and Legionnaire's sword, shield and helmet (all made of authentic plastic).

Getting to your triclinium (table) can be a bit dodgy if the juggler tossing fiery torches around. Better to trip over the harpist, flutist or guitarist.

At your triclinium, the first thing you do is - complain. They forgot the damn forks.

There are none; forks weren't invented until the Middle Ages. You're encouraged to eat with your hands, though they do provide a little two-pronged spear for the fastidiously mannered.

The menu, like the decor, is strictly ancient. There's no potatoes, tomatoes, corn or eggplant, and God forbid you should ask for a Coke. The most notable compromise with modern times is that the restaurant no longer waters down the wine, as the Romans were wont to do; it seems 20th-century diners complained.

I WONDERED if, in this meshuga city where everybody takes everything so seriously, anyone ever threatened to firebomb the place for glorifying a

quick speech-therapy session, to teach him to say the sound "p" - which Arabs have trouble with. Now, it makes a lot more sense when he describes it as "Pompeii red."

Imam could afford to make a mistake; Scott Seltzer could not. By day, Scott works in computers; by night, he's the Culinarium's juggler. He starts off tamely with rubber balls, working his way up to fireballs.

Scott, a 27-year-old native of Tucson, Arizona, has been juggling since he was seven; he's been performing at the Culinarium for the past five years.

Ever had a mishap?

"My first night."

Oy. "I set fire to a lady's dress. But just a little bit. Another time, I set fire to my hands, but I mean really ignited them. I managed to laugh it off, so no one realized it was an accident."

"Oh, and there was the time I was trying out a new trick. The lit torch flew out of my hands - and landed right in a girl's plate. The family loved it. They thought I'd singled them out, because it was her bat mitzva."

BEFORE you step back out into the present day - well, actually, you don't, because the Culinarium is located on the Cardo, an excavated Late Roman-era boulevard - make sure you go to the bathroom. Even that's worth a few laughs.

Along the corridor are painted cartoons of *ploring* Romans pointing the way to the "lavatorium."

And what other restaurant in the world has a "vomitorium" - fully equipped with throat feathers? It's a manic thought: This is what Jerusalem will ultimately contribute to international dining.

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INAUGURATION OF THE SARA AND FELIX DUMONT AUDITORIUM

Lecture
Professor Asher Susser
The Moshe Dayan Center
for Middle Eastern and African Studies

Israel at Fifty: The Dilemmas of Peace-Making

on Wednesday, 20 May, 1998, at 10:30 a.m., Dumont Auditorium,
Dan David Building, Tel Aviv University Campus, Ramat Aviv

The public is invited



TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY



INAUGURATION OF THE GEORGE AND MARY BLOCH CHAIR IN COMPARATIVE ART HISTORY

Lecture
Professor Nurith Kenaan-Kedar
Incumbent of the Chair

Medieval Marginal Sculpture,
Notre-Dame de Paris, and Victor Hugo

on Wednesday, 20 May, 1998, at 11:45 a.m., Fastlicht Auditorium,
Mexico Building, Tel Aviv University Campus, Ramat Aviv

The public is invited



MINISTRY OF HEALTH Department of Property and Services, Jerusalem

- The Ministry of Health hereby invites bids for the following:
Tender No. 112/98 - Request for Prices (R.F.P.)
- Subject of tender:
Supply of software, installation and instruction,
Data Integration and Maintenance for Family Health Centers - Computer Department
- Period of Contract:
Five years, with option to extend for an additional two years.
- a) The tender documents and further information may be obtained from the Information Desk or the
Secretariat of the Department of Property and Services, 29 Rehov Rivka, 2nd floor, The Ministry of Health,
Jerusalem, Tel. 02-668-1220/1, 588-1364, during regular working hours.
The tender documents will be available from May 20, 1998.
b) In order to obtain the tender documents a payment of NIS 1000 must be paid by payment voucher into the
account of the Department of Property and Services of the Ministry of Health at the Postal Bank (Account
No. 0-03807-9).
c) For further details, contact Mr. Eli Bar-Nathan, Tel. 02-670-8802, Fax. 02-672-1062, during regular working
hours.
- Bids must be placed in the tender box at the information desk of the offices of the Ministry of Health, 29 Rehov
Rivka, 2nd floor, Jerusalem by June 22, 1998, at 12 noon.
- a) Bidders can submit questions or objections in writing to the Ministry of Health, 4 Rehov Shalom Yehuda,
Jerusalem (Fax. 02-672-1062) by June 1, 1998.
b) Bidders who do not do so will be considered as having consented to the terms of the tender.
- Basic Conditions for Submitting Bids:
a) A valid statement of turnover from an accountant for the year 1996, in compliance with the Income Tax
Regulations, must be submitted.
b) The sum of NIS 1000 (non-refundable) must be paid for the tender documents.
c) Proof that the bidder is an authorized trader for VAT purposes and that he keeps account books must be
attached to the bid.
d) An index-linked bank guarantee in the amount of NIS 50,000 valid for 120 days from the last date for
submission of bids.
e) All bidders must attend a meeting of suppliers at 10 a.m. on June 9, 1998 at the Ministry of Health, 4
Rehov Shalom Yehuda, Jerusalem, in the conference room on the first floor.
f) The Ministry of Health reserves the right to award the bid to more than one bidder for the entire tender or
for parts of it.
g) The Ministry may give preference to legally incorporated entities that have more experience in providing
the services required by this tender, and whose staff is more skilled.
h) No undertaking is given to accept the lowest bid, any part of it or any bid at all, or to award the entire
project to one bidder. The Ministry is entitled to give preference to experienced bidders as explained in the
tender documents, and to cancel, expand or reduce the scope of the tender because of budgetary and/or
administrative and/or organizational reasons.
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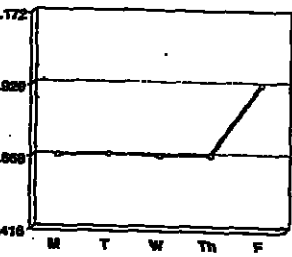
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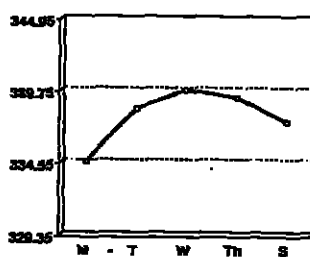
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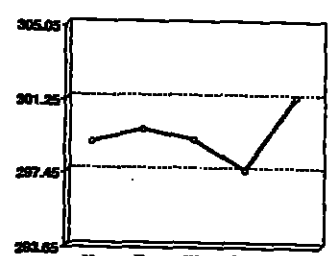


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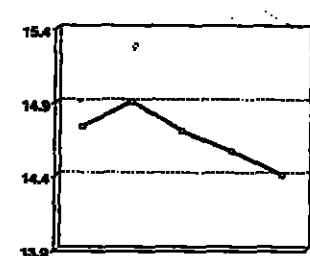
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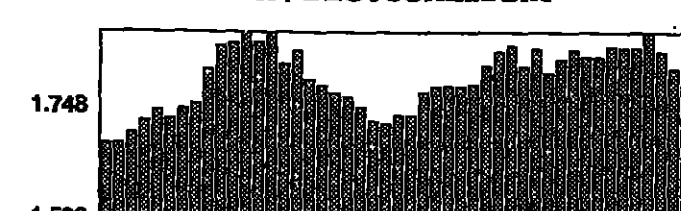


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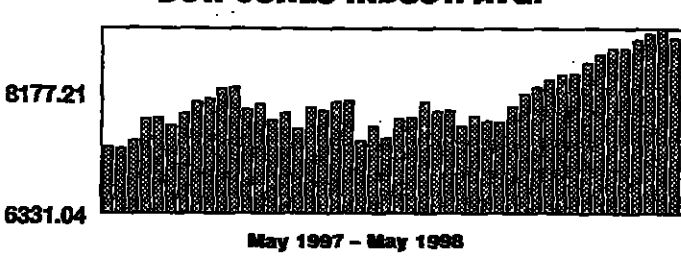
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April money supply increases 4.7%

Money supply (M1) reached NIS 20.43 billion at the end of April, a 4.7% increase on the NIS 19.52 posted in March, according to initial figures from the Bank of Israel. During the course of the last 12 months, the money supply has increased 13.3%. *David Harris*

Sharansky to attend WTO conference

Industry and Trade Ministry Natan Sharansky leaves for Geneva today to attend the World Trade Organization's second ministerial conference. Representatives from more than 170 countries and organizations will discuss ways of liberalizing the global economy and celebrate the 50th anniversary of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the WTO's predecessor. The minister will also hold talks there with leaders from Mexico, Brazil and Argentina on negotiations for a free-trade agreement with the Mercosur countries and with Mexico individually. He is to be accompanied by a delegation of officials from the Foreign and Industry and Trade ministries. *Nina Gilbert*

Rafael, Lockheed ink Python 4 deal

By STEVE RODAN

Rafael Israel Armament Development Authority and Lockheed Martin Electronics & Missiles have signed an agreement to cooperate on the production and marketing of Rafael's air-to-air Python 4 missile, executives said yesterday.

The deal includes the addition of the missile to Lockheed Martin's upgrade program of its F-16 fighter-jet, they said.

With several air forces, including the US, considering or implementing F-16 upgrades, the cooperation agreement has the potential to be the most lucrative yet for Rafael.

Executives of both Rafael and Lockheed Martin said the memorandum includes all air-to-air missiles developed and manufactured by Rafael.

Lockheed Martin has a similar agreement with Rafael for the

joint production and marketing of the Popeye air-to-ground missile, which has been sold to the US Air Force as the AGM-142.

"There is a great interest in signing agreements of this kind," Rafael president Itzhak Gat said. "Rafael's expertise in the development of advanced weapons system and the ability of Lockheed Martin to market them internationally will be mutually beneficial for the two companies."

Executives of both companies said Rafael, a unit of the Defense Ministry, brings to the cooperation accord experience and expertise in the development and production of air-to-air missiles.

Lockheed Martin supplies experience in the development and production of tactical missiles and systems, as well as its global marketing network.

"This agreement is another step in the long-standing relationship

between Rafael and Lockheed Martin," Lockheed Martin Electronic & Missiles president Joseph Antinucci said. "It is an important follow-up to our two-year-old agreement to jointly produce and market the AGM-142/Popeye standoff strike missile, which has already generated about \$400 million with more to come."

Executives said the Rafael-Lockheed Martin cooperation agreement bears the greatest potential in the F-16 upgrade market.

Lockheed Martin has sold more than 3,700 F-16s, about 2,300 to the US Air Force. Several countries, including the US, are launching or are planning to begin upgrades of the multi-role fighter jet.

"The Python could be a good addition to the F-16 upgrade package," a Lockheed Martin source said. "We haven't said this formally, but it is reasonable that this is the direction we're headed."

Rafael executives agreed and said the Python 4 could also be included in new F-16 sales.

Lockheed Martin is competing with Boeing Corp. to supply the F-16 to the IAF in a deal estimated at more than \$2 billion, and the Rafael agreement is seen as part of Lockheed Martin's efforts to supply the industrial cooperation Israel is requesting from the American competitors.

In addition, on May 12, Lockheed Martin announced that the United Arab Emirates has ordered 80 of the new Block 60 F-16 in a \$700 million deal. The Rafael executives said the sale of Python 4 to a foreign country would require Defense Ministry approval. They said both companies would have to consent to a foreign sale.

A Rafael executive said the agreement does not force the company to market the Python 4 through Lockheed Martin. "There

is nothing in this agreement that gives Lockheed Martin exclusivity on the Python," the executive said. "We have the right to market the missile ourselves."

Rafael executives said their company first had been holding contacts with Boeing on the joint production and marketing of Python 4.

Rafael and Boeing Australia had been partners in a bid to supply the Royal Australian Air Force with the Python 4, and executives of both companies then agreed that the award of the contract, estimated at about \$135 million, could be the start of joint production of the air-to-air missile in the US.

But in February the Python 4 missile lost to the Anglo-French-Advanced Short-Range Air-to-Air Missile [ASRAAM], produced by Matra BAe Dynamics, and both Rafael and Boeing agreed to freeze talks on the Python 4.

Forex tax plan submitted

By Jerusalem Post Staff

Following the lifting last week of restrictions on currency exchange, the Income Tax Commission has handed the Treasury its proposals for the accompanying tax changes it maintains are now necessary.

The country must move from a territorial-based tax system to one linked to an individual's activities, no matter where they take place, according to a statement from the commission.

Citizens with foreign bank accounts or property or those involved in business abroad would have to submit an annual report on 1998 activities during the course of next year, according to the proposal, which needs the approval of the Knesset Finance Committee.

Foreigners would still have to pay taxes on their income from activities in Israel.

April jobseekers rise 0.3%

By DAVID HARRIS

The number of jobseekers increased by a seasonally adjusted 500 or 0.3% in April to 163,900, the Employment Service announced yesterday. At the same time, the number of towns where unemployment is above 10% fell from 20 to 11.

The figures were published on the same day the Central Bureau of Statistics reported the economy grew at an annual 1.2%. A senior Treasury official said that if growth continues at the current pace unemployment is bound to increase, given that the work force is growing by 2.4% a year.

Of the 11 locations of high unemployment only one - Sderot - showed an increase in joblessness, up from 10.2% to 10.4%. Topping the list were Ein Mahil (down from 14.1% to 12.8%) and Rahat (from 12.7% to 11.9%).

While the March figures introduced a fresh worry - increasing unemployment in larger cities - those numbers appear to have been a temporary blip. Last month's figures showed unemployment in Eilat down to 2% from 2.6%, in Jerusalem to 2.9% from 3.1% and in Tel Aviv at 3.4% after 3.7%.

While the monthly figures are encouraging, the government must not rest on its laurels, said Labor and Social Affairs Minister Eli Yishai. "It must not be the case that the figures, which reflect a slowing of the rise in unemployment, also relax the captains of the economy," said Yishai.

The minister last week voted against the Treasury's NIS 1 billion spending package, which aims to reduce unemployment and increase economic growth by improving the nation's infrastructure systems.

Along with several ministers, Yishai spoke out against the plan, saying it is insufficient and fails to address the needs of the work force.

Within the Employment Service figures it emerged that the number jobseekers still registered with the service after six days fell 7.5% to 122,013.

The number of Arabs looking for work dropped 1,600 to 18,100, with immigrants falling 700 from 11,500 to 10,800. There was a 0.1% rise in the percentage of female jobseekers as a proportion of the total - up to 49%, while those below age 35 comprised 44.5%, compared to 44.7% in March.

Labor Party Secretary-General Raanan Cohen used the publication of the figures to attack Yishai, who hails from Shas.



Good chemistry

Tel Aviv University president Prof. Yoram Dinstein (right), and Hugo Ramincaanu (left), president of French Friends of TAU, present on Friday the Ramincaanu Prize in Economics for 1998 to industrialist Abraham Goldwasser, founder of Avgol Nonwoven Industries, and Oxidon, the Israeli Oxidation Co.

Number of mortgages at six-year low

By DAN GERSTENFELD

The number of mortgages given by banks fell to a six-year low of only 6,000 loans in April, according to Uri Wurzbarger, managing director of Tefahot Israel Mortgage Bank and chairman of the Mortgage Bankers Sector.

The decline was mainly attributed to a slowdown in the housing market, Wurzbarger said yesterday, noting the decrease is part of an ongoing trend which started last year.

The decline in the number of loans has led to higher competition with spreads between the cost of funds and the lending rate, falling to only 0.05 percent in April after falling to 0.14% in the first quarter of the year.

Tefahot deputy CEO Yisrael Segal said that decline is also an outcome of high interest rates and rising unemployment, as people prefer not to take loans at times of growing uncertainty. He added that the fact that the government has not yet approved the Gadish

Committee recommendations on housing-aid policy was also decreasing activity.

"People are waiting for the approval of the committee's recommendations and don't take mortgage loans now," Segal said.

In a separate report, Bank Hapoalim said that housing prices rose during the last 10 months by only 5%, while the shekel depreciated against the dollar by 7%, reflecting an erosion of 2% in housing prices in dollar terms.

Wurzbarger added that saving

plans worth billions of shekels are expected to end in coming months. According to him, the banking sector fears some savers would prefer to spend the money or move it to other investment tools, worsening the shortage of financing for the mortgage banks.

He said that provident funds, which were the main source of finance for the mortgage industry, ceased to be so since the provident-fund crisis of two years ago and the banks now have to rely mainly on saving plans.

Report: IAI invited to help build Korean planes

By HANI SHAPIRO

Israel Aircraft Industries has been asked by the Korean government and industries there to participate in the development of a Korean medium-sized passenger-cargo aircraft, the *Korea Herald* reported recently.

According to the paper, official Korean sources said the time was right for such cooperation, following a meeting in Seoul between senior IAI officials and the Korean producers in which the

IAI expressed an interest in taking part in the project.

The Korean companies involved, at the request of their government, are Daewoo Heavy Industries Co., Korean Air, Samsung Aerospace Industries Co. and Hyundai Space and Aircraft Co.

The aircraft is to be capable of carrying about 50 passengers or the equivalent in cargo.

The Korean officials said a main concern was marketing, as they were particularly impressed by the fact that the IAI is negotiating a deal with Federal Express, the US-based international cargo transporter.

The project was to have begun in 1996, but was delayed because negotiations with potential partners - such as China, Fokker Aircraft and the European Aircraft Consortium - broke down.

The Korean government has allowed the Korean companies involved to allocate \$300 million toward the project, whose estimated total cost is \$1.2 billion.

Amex to discuss Nasdaq merger

By PHILIP BOROFF

NEW YORK (Bloomberg) - Two months after leaders of the American Stock Exchange and Nasdaq Stock Market announced a plan to combine their markets, the Amex is submitting details to its members for a make-or-break vote.

The Amex is expected to send out proxies to its 864 seat holders today. A vote, scheduled for late June, requires a two-thirds majority if the combination is to be consummated.

If completed, the Amex, the third-largest US stock market and second-largest options market, would become a wholly owned subsidiary of the Nasdaq, the nation's No. 2 stock market.

People who have seen the 100-page proxy said the basic terms of the transaction are unchanged from March, when the Amex released an outline to members. One exception: the exchange increased the "seat stabilization" fund that will be paid out to Amex members after five years to \$50 million from \$30 million, Amex Chairman Richard Syron said.

Many members complain that

that increase is inadequate. They say the value of their seats may decline after they cede control of the exchange. They're concerned that the combination of Amex's auction market and Nasdaq's electronic system will mean less business on the floor.

Paul Liang, an outspoken merger critic who owns 17 Amex seats with a group of investors, said he conducted an informal written survey of Amex members. He said he's heard from three members in favor of the merger and 178 opposed.

"This proposal is fundamentally suspect," Liang said. "They're trying to take control without giving seat holders any consideration."

For the merger to pass, Amex officials must win over absentee members, who own about half the seats on the exchange and lease them to others.

On Wednesday, Amex officials will meet at a New York hotel with members who have held seats for at least two decades at the annual dinner of the "5 and 20 Club." The Amex is also planning a presentation in Florida, where a number of absentee seat holders live, said Dan Noonan, a spokesman for the exchange.

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SPORTS

in brief

Newcastle clinch first English rugby title

LONDON (Reuters) - Newcastle clinched their first English premiership rugby title yesterday, running in six tries as they cruised to a 44-20 victory over Harlequins at the Stoop.

The emphatic win meant Newcastle, in their first season in the premiership, finished a point ahead of Saracens at the top of the table.

Gascoigne not sure of place, says Hoddle

LONDON (Reuters) - Paul Gascoigne is not guaranteed a place in England's squad for the World Cup finals, coach Glenn Hoddle said yesterday.

"He's not 100 percent fit so I can't say at this time he's 100 percent in the squad," Hoddle told BBC Radio.

"At the moment there are 30 players in the squad and I've got to whittle them down."

Gascoigne, who recently joined English first division club Middlesbrough from Rangers, has struggled with injury for much of the season.

Wednesday part company with Atkinson

LONDON (Reuters) - Ron Atkinson's reign as manager of English premier league Sheffield Wednesday is over after the club revealed yesterday it would not be extending his contract.

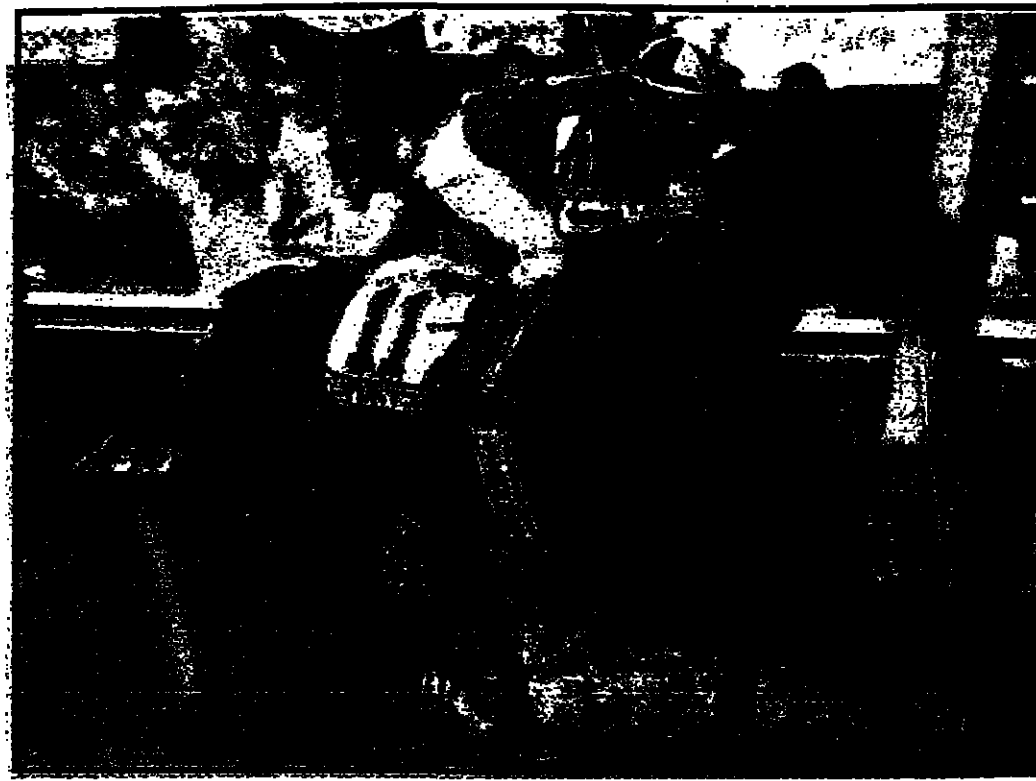
Atkinson, 59, returned for a second spell in charge of the Yorkshire club this season when Wednesday finished just above the relegation zone. His current contract expires on May 31.

Clarke rediscovers winning form

OXFORD (Reuters) - Northern Ireland's Ryder Cup player Darren Clarke scored his first victory in 20 months when he won the Benson and Hedges International Open by three strokes yesterday.

Clarke, the joint overnight leader, fired a closing five-under-par 67 over the 7,205-yard Oxfordshire course for a winning 15-under-par total of 273.

As reigning European No. 1 Colin Montgomerie's bid for a first win of the year faded on the greens, Spain's Santiago Luna came through the field to claim second place with a 67 for 276. Montgomerie was back in joint fifth place after a level-par 72.



Real Quiet moved to within one step of becoming the 12th American thoroughbred Triple Crown winner on Saturday, beating Victory Gallop to the finish by 2 1/4 lengths to win the Preakness Stakes. Winner of the Kentucky Derby two weeks ago, Real Quiet will try to become first US Triple Crown winner since Affirmed in 1978 when he contests the Belmont Stakes on June 6. (Reuters)

All-rounder Lewis returns for one-day series

LONDON (Reuters) - All-rounder Chris Lewis, out of favor with the England selectors since turning up late for a Test match two years ago, has been included in the 14-man squad for the one-day series against South Africa.

Lewis has had an uneasy relationship with the England hierarchy during an international career which has brought him 30 Test caps and 51 one-day appearances.

But David Graveney said yesterday that when he became chairman of selectors he was determined that "everyone would start with a clean slate."

"Chris has been captaining Leicestershire in the absence of James Whitaker this season and that has

brought out the best in his game," said Graveney.

"His ability in one-day cricket is obvious," Lewis's Leicestershire team mate Darren Maddy and Sussex's new captain Chris Adams, both batsmen, are the only new faces in the squad.

The seven players discarded from the squad which lost 4-1 to West Indies on the winter tour of the Caribbean include Graeme Hick and Ben Hollis, brother of Adam who skips the squad.

The first game of the three-match series is at The Oval on Thursday with the second and third games to be played at Old Trafford and Headingley on Saturday and Sunday.

Rios wins Italian Open as Costa pulls out

Conchita Martinez takes German Open

ROME (Reuters) - World No. 3 Marcelo Rios won the Italian Open without lifting a racket yesterday when Albert Costa pulled out of the final with a badly sprained right wrist.

Organizers announced to a whistling Foro Italico crowd that the unseeded Spaniard had failed a late fitness test, bringing to an end his run of 11 successive victories on clay.

"There is nothing I can do," said a disconsolate Costa, denied the chance to become the first unseeded Italian champion for 25 years.

"I tried to hit some balls before the match and I had no power. There was no way," ATP Tour doctor Giovanni Di Giacomo described the injury as a serious sprain and said it would prevent Costa from picking up a racket for at least five days, putting his appearance at the French Open, which starts on May 25, in doubt.

Ironically, Costa had won last week's Hamburg Open in similar fashion when his compatriot Alex Corretja was struck down by fatigue in the final.

The injury occurred in the last game of Costa's gruelling semifinal victory over 12th seed Alberto Berasategui on Saturday when, serving for the match, he fell heavily attempting a forehand pass.

The extent of the injury became apparent overnight when the wrist suddenly swelled up.

"It was incredible," said Costa. "It was perfect, then an hour later it had swollen up."

The pony-tailed Chilean, who remains No. 3 in the world despite

winning here, will almost certainly regain the world No. 1 spot if he achieves his first Grand Slam victory in Paris.

"I'm really excited about it," said Rios, the first Chilean to win at the Foro Italico since Luis Ayala in 1959. "I think it's going to be a nice French Open."

Spain's Conchita Martinez ended an 18th-month title drought in Berlin yesterday by holding off 18-year-old French qualifier Amelie Mauresmo to capture the German Open.

Martinez, who last won in Moscow in November of 1996, needed two hard sets to win, 6-4, 6-4, and end the run of the little-known teen-ager who reached her first final.

Mauresmo, whose occasional dazzling shots drew wild applause from 6,000 spectators, became the first qualifier to reach the end match of a Tier-One tournament, the tour's most prestigious after the Grand Slams.

Along the way, the French player, who had never gone beyond the quarterfinals before, proved a giant-killer. She upset both world No. 2 Lindsay Davenport and No. 3 Jana Novotna.

Martinez, the 1994 Wimbledon winner, proved too steady for the aggressive Mauresmo, whose sparkling play was undone by her own errors. She clinched the match in one hour, 26 minutes when the French player mis-hit an easy forehand.

Martinez, once the world No. 2, had claimed a title every year between 1988 and 1996 before her career hit a slide.

Stars clinch Western Conference finals berth

DALLAS (AP) - Ed Belfour stopped 17 shots behind a brilliant defense as the Dallas Stars clinched a berth in the Western Conference finals with a 2-1 victory over the Edmonton Oilers on Saturday night.

Greg Adams scored on a 2-on-1 break with 2:26 left in the game to clinch the victory, wrapping up their best-of-7 semifinal series with five games.

Derian Hatcher scored the Stars' other goal in the first period.

Belfour was on the verge of his fifth career playoff shutout and second of the series, but the Oilers scored on Bill Guerin's goal from the slot with 29 seconds to play.

Oilers coach Ron Low pulled goaltender Curtis Joseph with two minutes to go, and Edmonton capitalized on Guerin's seventh goal of the playoffs.

It was Belfour's 43rd playoff victory and improved his record to 8-3 in this post-season.

It's the first time the Stars have reached the conference finals since the franchise moved to Dallas from Minnesota five years ago. The Minnesota North Stars made it all the way to the Stanley Cup finals twice, losing both times.

Edmonton 0 0 1-1
Dallas 1 0 2-2

First Period-1, Dallas, Hatcher 8 (Modano, Chabot), 1:28 (P). Second Period-None
Third Period-2, Dallas, Adams 1 (Kane, Hatcher), 17:21, Edmonton, Guerin 7 (Fraser, Smyth), 18:51. Shots on goal-Edmonton 54-7-10, Dallas 4-11-11-28. Goals-Edmonton, Joseph, Dallas, Belfour. A-16,928.

Sweden hold on to win world ice hockey title

ZURICH (Reuters) - Sweden won the ice hockey world championship title yesterday after holding Finland to a 0-0 draw in the second leg of their two-match final.

Their 1-0 aggregate win gave the Swedes their seventh world title and first since 1992, when they also beat Finland to claim the gold.

The victory gained the Swedes a measure of revenge over their Scandinavian rivals, who knocked them out in the quarter-finals at the Nagano Olympics earlier this year and went on to take the bronze medal.

After narrowly losing Saturday's first leg, Finland went on the attack right from the opening face-off.

As in the first match the contest quickly turned into a goaltending duel between Sweden's netminder Tommy Salo and Finland's Ari Sulander.

It was the Swedes who generated the better early scoring chances, particularly during a late flurry in the dying moments of the opening period.

Play opened up in the second period but the Swedes, who conceded just nine goals in 10 games in the tournament, held firm in defence.

At the other end of the rink, Sulander kept his country in the hunt for their second world title with some sparkling work in the Finn net, especially during three Sweden's powerplay opportunities.

The Finns also had their best scoring chances during their only powerplay, which came with two minutes to play in the second period.

With five minutes remaining in the final period, Sulander slid across his line to make a save from Tampa Bay Lightning's Mikael Renberg who had broken in alone from the blue line.

With one minute left on the clock, a desperate Finn coach Hannu Aravirta pulled Sulander in favor of an extra attacker, sending six skaters flooding into the Sweden zone.

But once again the Finns were unable to convert.

Bulldogs lead AFL table as Sydney Swans falter

MELBOURNE (AP) - Western Bulldogs crushed Hawthorn by 40 points yesterday to take the outright lead on the Australian Football League competition ladder.

Chris Grant was in inspirational form as the Bulldogs posted a 21.10 (136) to 14.12 (96) victory over the Hawks. Hawthorn full-forward Jason Dunstall booted six goals in the first quarter and ended with eight.

The Bulldogs improved to a 7-1 record, ahead of three teams with 6-2. Sydney Swans lost their share of the lead in an epic match against North Melbourne at the MCG on Saturday.

Swans forward Tony Lockett was restricted to just one goal - a week after scoring 10 - as North posted a 1.15 (105) to 14.11 (95) victory in a

high quality match.

St. Kilda and Melbourne were equal second with Sydney after weekend wins.

The Saints scored a 10.12 (72) to 5.15 (45) victory over Port Adelaide at Waverley and Melbourne won a thriller over Collingwood yesterday, prevailing 17.12 (114) to 16.15 (111) in front of 70,000 fans at the MCG.

Defending champions Adelaide continued their difficult season with a home loss to Richmond yesterday. Brisbane's woeful shooting cost it a win against Essendon.

The Lions had 30 scoring shots to the Bombers' 24 but lost 12.12 (84) to 8.22 (70).

In other matches, Geelong beat Fremantle 12.4 (76) to 6.18 (54) and West Coast downed Carlton 12.20 (92) to 12.12 (84).

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